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JULY 1988

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

At the
19th Party Conference



**Wojciech
Jaruzelski
interviewed**

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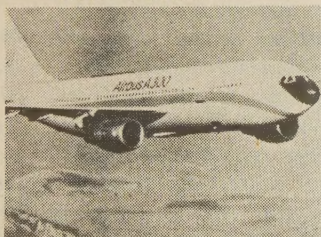


The 19th CPSU Conference is seen throughout the world as a landmark in the restructuring of Soviet society. The changes under way in the U.S.S.R. and their impact on the socialist community, specifically Poland, are discussed in the following interview with the First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party and Chairman of Poland's State Council, Wojciech Jaruzelski. (See pp. 4,5,9.)

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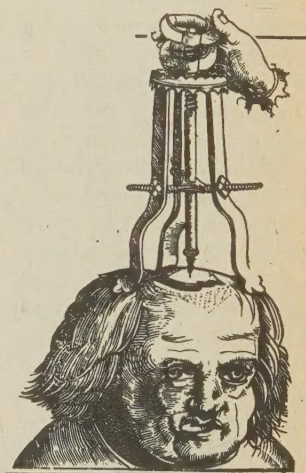
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**FRESH IMPETUS
TO PERESTROIKA**
Notes on the
19th CPSU Conference

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Leonid Shadrin,
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

■ As might have been expected, the Party conference focussed on domestic issues. Nevertheless, I want to call attention to the part of Mikhail Gorbachev's report dealing with foreign policy. It is justly noted in the report that our foreign policy was also affected by the system of high-handed rule that took shape in the years of the personality cult and flourished during the stagnation period. Not infrequently decisions that concerned every citizen of the Soviet Union, and other countries as well, were adopted by a narrow circle of people, without nationwide discussion or regard for public opinion.

In view of this I suggest that newspapers publish the texts of at least major treaties, for at present only summaries of such documents are given in TV and radio broadcasts. The texts of treaties could also be published in booklet form, as is done with the documents of Central Committee plenums.

Some may object by saying that the texts of the most important treaties are carried in the collections entitled "Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union (in documents)." But the last col-

lection was put out a long time ago. There is also the Herald of the Foreign Ministry of the U.S.S.R. However, it is only published in a few thousand copies, and it is almost unobtainable. Foreign policy issues should be discussed by the public hot on the heels of events. Of course, treaties contain provisions that will probably only be comprehensible to experts. But the necessary explanations can be given by the media. I simply can't understand why the texts of agreements are not always made public. They do not contain any state secrets and, in any case, secret diplomacy has long been a thing of the past in our country.

A. Skupovsky,
Kishinev, U.S.S.R.

■ I followed the Party conference on television and read newspaper reports about it. I would like to make a suggestion with regard to our country's foreign policy.

The consolidation of the international communist movement calls for the establishment of an international advisory body in some respects resembling the Communist International, and acting strictly in accordance with Leninist principles. This body should have a standing working committee because, I think, the conferences of Communist and Workers' parties held now and then are unable to solve all the problems facing the international communist movement. These conferences should be part of the activity of a new organization.

Oscar Valdes Garcia,
Santo Domingo, Cuba

■ A reader of your magazine for 20 years, I have long been interested in foreign affairs and can say that the latest international events seem to give rise

OPINIONS

to some hope. I do not have in mind political shifts, because there have been so far few of them. The point is that the very approach to the issues of disarmament and peaceful coexistence has changed and the new thinking proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev for the conduct of world affairs is yielding tangible fruits — the danger of war is now less than it was five years ago.

I have always believed that society would eventually produce a man capable of laying emphasis not on differences but on the need for peace, the alliance of nations, progress and constructive labour beneficial to the whole of mankind.

Ella Garcia Menendez,
Asturias, Spain

■ Much to my surprise, the evacuation of Soviet troops from Afghanistan has started in spite of everything. I hoped till the last moment that they would not be pulled out. It appears that you are leaving Afghanistan because you are now guided by new thinking. Only a few months ago I read in New Times about the atrocities perpetrated by Afghan counterrevolutionaries with the aid of weapons purchased from the Americans, and the murder of children in schools and peaceful

civilians in city streets. And now the Afghan leaders want to form a coalition government with bandits who only a few hours ago were killing Afghans wishing to live in peace and justice. I can't understand that and think with pain of Nicaragua. Can it really be that the Nicaraguans will also have to form a coalition government with those who have been trying to destroy their country?

Gennady Kuts,
Chelyabinsk, U.S.S.R.

■ A lot of very different decisions and laws have been adopted in the history of the Soviet state. But we ordinary people do not know how they have been elaborated and how competent their authors have been. Therefore, I suggest forming a consultative council on domestic, economic and legal issues. The new body would prepare the drafts of new laws, but it should in no way be allowed to become one more bureaucratic institution.

To stop this happening, the finest experts in the country should be elected to the council by nationwide discussion for a limited term. The body would work on a voluntary basis, and its members should enjoy no privileges except the single right to bear great responsibility for the future of the country.

A FORMER POW REPLIES

Georgi Shemyakin,
Kaluga region, U.S.S.R.

■ In issue No. 24/88 I read a letter from Robert Streibel, Austria, about the Stalag 17B concentration camp near the town of Krems. I was in the camp from 1941 to 1943, and my reminiscences could perhaps be interesting to him. For instance, I could tell him about the only escape from the

camp made by four Soviet POWs on April 16, 1943. I was one of them, and could therefore help Streibel the historian. Incidentally, I am myself a teacher of history. Here is my address: 249030 Kaluga region, Zhukovsky district, Zhukovo village, Gorky Street 49, flat 5. I look forward to hearing from him.

GLASNOST

for Protasov,
worker,
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

On reading Alexander
Guber's article about Soviet
foreign trade (No. 23/88), I
thought about the reasons for
the falling demand for our
goods on the world market,
though their quality often mea-
sures up to international stan-
dards. It seems to me that your
author has not dotted all the i's,
because there are too many
problems here.

The changing economic
situation and lack of advertis-
ing and facilities for the train-
ing of young workers now
employed at factories make
themselves felt. But these are
not the only reasons. Judge for
yourself. Can the Soviet
Union, where the output of
goods is planned for five
years ahead, trade with the
West, where the names of
goods change with terrific
speed?

Sometimes a factory is pre-

pared to improve an article and
turn out various modifications
of it. But will this be permitted
by the ministry, which still con-
trols the work of a given fac-
tory? The adoption of a deci-
sion involves red tape, loss of
time and extra efforts which in
many cases prove futile. Will a
representative of a Western
company wait all this time? I
think it would be easier for him
to apply to another, better,
Western company that man-
ufactures similar goods, and
make an arrangement with it.
If I were in his place, that's
what I would do.

Take one more problem. A
factory partly turns out but
mainly assembles products. Its
suppliers are situated in various
regions of our vast country.
What should a Western
businessman do? Wait till a fac-
tory and its suppliers have coor-
dinated their efforts, travel from
region to region, or try to get in
touch with all of them by
phone? A cheerless prospect!

Or take another case. A big
order from a Western com-
pany was supplied, for in-
stance, by five Soviet factories.
In the past, a representative of
a company had dealings only
with one man, who worked in
the Ministry of Foreign Trade,
while today he will have to do
business with five factories
situated in various parts of the
Soviet Union. It will, of
course, be easier for him to
abandon such partners. In this
way the volume of our foreign
trade is diminishing, as are the
hard currency earnings of our
country.

Frankly speaking, I do not
know what can be done in
these circumstances. But I am
sure that proper order must be
introduced. For, while we are
restructuring our economy in
this way, our hard currency
earnings will fall to the
minimum and our trade con-
tacts will decline. After that it
will be more difficult to restore
them.

Ahmed Zaitov,
Lesosibirsk, U.S.S.R.

It was with great interest
that I read in No. 22 a letter
from Grigori Parasol. His
judgements and analysis of the
present economic situation coin-
cide with my own views and
conclusions on this problem.

He rightly noted that each
price increase (called an "ad-
justment" in our country)
raises the "extra money," or
profits, of the black mar-
keteers. Thus, it is the profiteer
who stands to gain from a price
rise.

I think the state incurs great
losses because of the poor
quality of goods manufactured
by light industry. Such goods
find no market for years and
are then sold off with great dif-
ficulty at bargain prices. The
demand of young and middle-
aged people is inadequately
taken into account. However,
it is not all the same to them
what clothes or shoes they
wear. I can't remember a

GLASNOST

time when I wore Soviet-made
shoes — except perhaps when I
was a youth. I have heard that
our factories make good shoes
and clothes for export.

I also agree with Parasol that
it is necessary to slash adminis-
trative staffs, fight corruption
and efficiently run agriculture,
though all this is merely part of
our problems.

I think many people will
support my point of view,
especially those who do not
hold high posts.

Dear Reader,

Our magazine is going to gain
in bulk shortly: it will offer you 48
pages to read instead of 32
today.

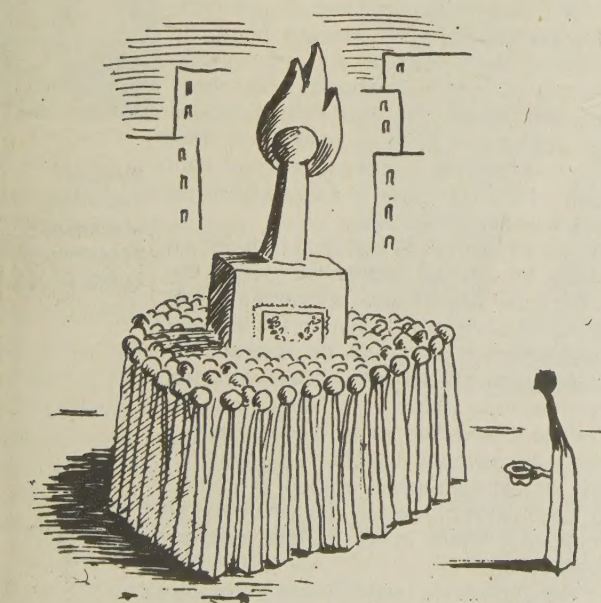
This will enable us to give you
more information on perestroika,
the process of democratization in
the Soviet Union, and to provide a
wider and deeper coverage of
world affairs.

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The Editors

AN ARTIST'S COMMENT



Drawing by Victor Bogorad (Leningrad)



JANIS PETERS,
secretary of the Board
of the Latvian
Writers' Union,
delegate to the
19th Party
Conference

The determination to guarantee creative freedom and civil liberties, and the national rights of the constituent republics of the Soviet Union was expressed in Mikhail Gorbachev's report to the 19th Party Conference. Shortly before the conference began the republics' desire for genuine sovereignty and the deepening of Soviet federalism was discussed at a plenum of the Latvian Writers' Union in which the leaders of Latvia's unions of creative workers took part. The two-day meeting was also attended by four secretaries of the Latvian Communist Party.

At the plenum I keenly felt the maturity of our intellectuals. Their thoughts coincide with those of some Party leaders, but only the most talented, cultured and farsighted of these. Unfortunately, not all Party leaders are willing to heed the voices of intellectuals or the people as a whole, nor are all of them capable of conducting a discussion. The plenum revealed in particular that some Party workers have adopted a wait-and-see attitude which betrays their obvious incompetence. One sensed their irritation and even anger at the fact that intellectuals were raising unusual problems with the authorities.

The present situation in the country, and Mikhail Gorbachev's political initiatives, have taken many leaders unawares. In Latvia, for instance, some Party officials criticized Anatoly Gorbunov, secretary of the republic's Communist Party, for having addressed a rally in memory of the victims of the Stalin repressions, because it did not proceed according to an "approved scenario." Or perhaps they simply envied the ability of Anatoly Gorbunov to defend the ethical ideals of socialism convincingly.

Many officials look today like ferro-concrete blocks of stagnation draped in the cotton garb of perestroika. But the essence of perestroika lies in changing one's mentality, not one's clothes. We should work for the consolidation of all strata of society. Perestroika needs intelligent people and it helps bring them to light. This perhaps explains why the intelligentsia and other sections of the population in Latvia have never been so closely linked as today. Genuine Communists must personify the conscience of this union.

The national Party conference held recently in Moscow can be described as a historic event. It has provided a new impulse to and yardstick for changes in the Soviet social system, especially if the pluralism of opinions and freedom of criticism demonstrated at the conference, along with the renunciation of almost all the old taboos, gradually reach other spheres of public life.

It is now difficult to predict all the possible consequences or manifestations of the planned reform of the political system. However, it is already clear that Mikhail Gorbachev has further consolidated his position and enhanced his prestige in the international arena. It remains to see how all this, and the accelerated process of perestroika in the Soviet Union, influence the other Warsaw Treaty states, especially the German Democratic Republic.

We Social Democrats can in any case be satisfied with the events taking place in the Soviet Union. While not forgetting the fundamental differences between our social and political systems, we find in these events inspiration, and confirmation of our Ostpolitik and our efforts to achieve, thanks to the policy of mutual openness, peaceful competition between the two systems.

I would call the 19th Party conference a popular lesson in democratization — not democracy, but the process of drawing nearer to it. In the spate of ideas, thoughts, monologues and dialogues uttered at the forum, what impressed itself on me most was the note of conflict between those who sincerely want changes and are bringing them nearer and those who pay lip service to perestroika. An example of such mimicry is the speech delivered by writer Yuri Bondarev at the Party conference, though I am sure a forceful rebuttal of it could be made by the writers themselves.

I would like to call attention to a remark made by Mikhail Gorbachev during the speech by V. Postnikov, a poultry breeder from the Stavropol Region. In the struggle against officialdom and bureaucrats, he said, people should not just hope for interference from above — whether from the Central Committee or any other leading body. Bureaucrats must be "driven out" by the people themselves, without prompting or command from above. The remark was an instructive lesson in how to take independent action.

The conference urged people to create a climate everywhere in which the opponents of perestroika would be rendered powerless.



**Dr HANS-
JOCHEN
VOGEL,**
Chairman of the Social
Democratic
Party
of Germany



**EVGENY
TALYZIN,**
engineer,
Moscow,
U.S.S.R.

**The First
Secretary of the
Polish United
Workers' Party
Wojciech Jaruzelski:**

Socialism corrects itself

Comrade Jaruzelski received us in his office in the CC PUWP headquarters. Smart and elegant, as millions of Poles and all friends and comrades in other countries, are accustomed to see him, Wojciech Jaruzelski, of course, also proved to be a genial host and considerate conversationalist. It must be admitted that it was the First Secretary who conducted the conversation, and to whom belonged the fruitful initiative... It seemed that there was a minute or so before the interview to talk of other things... But things went differently. Jaruzelski began

Wojciech Jaruzelski. This interview is taking place while the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU is still in session. Mikhail Gorbachev's report is being studied. It is a document of fundamental significance. It provides complete substantiation of the policy of perestroika and new thinking. The points it makes widen the theoretical foundation and the programme of practical action in all spheres of life. That is of principled significance for the Soviet Communist Party and for the country. And it will have, I'm convinced, a profound effect on the course of development of the entire socialist community and the future of international relations. The conference provides inspiration and lays the ground for new advances. The determination and boldness, creative explorations and open acceptance of new solutions, so typical of all

straight away: "What a wonderful event the Party conference in Moscow is!..." And the First Secretary started formulating his impressions of the beginning of the conference. One sensed that his attention was concentrated not only on the report delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev, but on the special style,

atmosphere and spirit of the conference. Jaruzelski saw it as a reflection of the profound changes that had taken place in our Party and society. So there was actually no need to put the question we had prepared.



new thinking bring. This is linked everywhere with the personality of Mikhail Gorbachev and in our Party, among Poles as a whole, it is deeply appreciated and meets with profound sympathy. There are important reasons for this, because these ideas, which I list below,

- lend fresh dynamism to socialism, are a mighty impetus to all the forces equated with it; they promote progress, the expansion and strengthening of human rights, and the develop-

ment of material and spiritual forces; they enhance the moral and political influence of socialism the world over, and are proof of its creative possibilities;

- they give the peoples of the world real hope of ridding themselves of the nuclear threat, of building up international security, and successfully solving global and regional problems;

the activities of the CPSU, enriches the theoretical achievements of Marxism-Leninism and the practical aspects of socialist construction.

In Poland and in our party we are very happy to see such a significant course develop for the Soviet Communist Party conference, and note with satisfaction the changes which perestroika and the

● their focus is man, as they recognize his supreme value, and unite all forces to seek to satisfy as fully as possible his requirements, expectations and aspirations;

● they create more universal and favourable conditions for strengthening Polish-Soviet friendship and developing cooperation between our countries;

● they provide evidence that our Party and our country are following the same course.

New Times. How would you assess the influence of perestroika on the socialist world?

W.J. Since the October revolution, since Lenin's time, there has been no such major initiative, from the point of view of the socialist social system, as perestroika.

We attach great importance to exchanges of experience between allies and friends. They help to ensure the more rapid and effective implementation of innovative decisions that promote the development of socialism, and at the same time help to avoid distortions.

This found its reflection in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the Tenth Congress of the PUWP, which touched on Poland's bitter experience and from which far-reaching conclusions should be drawn.

Socialism has reached a stage in its history when it is necessary in effect to reform all spheres of life. It is a system with a programmed internal mechanism that is called upon to transform every sphere of life. That means that socialism can develop only when it corrects itself, constantly changing in response to the demands and challenges of the times, and the image of the future.

Everything that slows down and hinders development, restricts the rate and scale of changes has to be overcome and replaced with new solutions.

Wojciech Jaruzelski noted that Mikhail Gorbachev's report was read with keen attention in Poland. It opened up for the Polish people opportunities to see how many of the themes and problems coincided with those discussed at the recent plenary meeting of the CC PUWP... That meeting could be described as a mini-Party conference. In view of the circumstances, the 7th Plenum assumed special significance. For if the Congress posed the question of what should be done, the plenum had to provide the answer as to why everything had not been done...

N.T. So what did the plenum have to say? How would you say Poland has changed since the Tenth Congress of the PUWP?

W.J. Today we are very critical of ourselves and our work. And although Poland remains the same, it is also different. It's different from what it was in the seventies, nor is it as it was in 1980-81. The contradictions that had accumulated over many long years in our country led to a great shock. It led to very painful consequences and caused great damage.

Dealing with this is not an easy matter and requires time. But that is not all. The socialist renovation proclaimed at the Ninth Congress signifies the building of a largely new model of economic, social and political life. Getting rid of the hangovers of the past, of command methods of management, we are removing bureaucratic structures and methods, the obstacles that limit the activity of individuals and all of society.

Our main aim is to increase efficiency in the interests of society.

The economic reform was started in an unusually difficult situation. But the Party decided that it could not be put off. The correctness of this decision has been confirmed by the fact that we have pulled the economy out of a deep crisis. But that is still not enough. The reform is progressing far too slowly, at times at a snail's pace. Many units lacked sufficient determination and consistency. That is why at the Tenth Congress and then the 7th CC Plenum in May of this year, we admitted that further radical measures were needed.

The direction remains the same. We are devoting all our energy to catching up and removing the objective and subjective obstacles in the way of accepting harsh economic principles. And that requires not only the restoration of a balance, or changes in the economic policy, but also the restructuring of the public consciousness. The Polish Communist Party will seek to speed up these reforms – it is a firm advocate of them.

Economic reforms and socialist democracy are indivisible. They are the two pillars of a single historical process. We are working for self-management in all spheres of life, for the government by the people as Lenin understood it. We are developing democracy, strengthening civil rights in line with modern trends in the development of human rights, lifting all restrictions which could fetter the initiative of the individual. We are seeking to build a socialist state serving the interests of its people.

In our Polish conditions, that involves the shaping of a broad national consensus, the introduction of socialist pluralism. We consider a variety of views the norm. We seek unity on issues of prin-

ciple significance for the future of the people and the development of the socialist state. We are perfecting its structure and its tools.

N.T. And what role in this process falls to the Church?

W.J. Our country is the meeting point of two great ideologies and outlooks: Marxism and Christianity. Poland is also a country into which different cultures and intellectual trends penetrate. Such a variety naturally leads to dialogue.

Hence the search for a platform on which the socialist state and the Roman Catholic Church can work together. In recent years this process has been going well, but it could go even better. I should like to take advantage of this opportunity to express satisfaction at the recent visit of the Primate of Poland Cardinal Glemp to the Soviet Union for the celebrations of the millennium of the Baptism of Rus. The visit was important and useful.

Wojciech Jaruzelski noted in the course of the interview that the beginning and source of the renovation in Poland was different from that of perestroika. The country had figuratively been sitting on a volcano. Or perhaps it can be better compared with a ship at sea undergoing radical repairs at the height of a storm. The comparison is longer, but perhaps more accurate. Now the storm is over but its consequences are still with us... That is why no effort can be relaxed in Poland in the movement for renovation. That is what the Party's Tenth Congress called for.

W.J. A higher level of political awareness in the Party's work and the enrichment of forms of political work to arouse and inspire the masses, the strengthening of the leading, guiding and concrete working role of the Party – all those objectives were set by the Tenth Congress and we are now working on them intensively.

Socialist renovation has found expression in changes in the organization of the state and the legal system. The role of representative bodies in public life is being consolidated, and that applies especially to the Sejm, our parliament. The formation of a Constitutional and State tribunals was of great importance as was the strengthening of the role of the Chief Administrative Court, the restoration of accountability of the Supreme Board of Control to the Sejm as provided by the Constitution, and the appointment of a Public Ombudsman to supervise decisions taken by bodies of state power. The foundation was laid for developing territorial self-government through

strengthening the legal and economic basis of the people's councils. Workers' self-government is being developed, and the working people's participation in economic management is being ensured. The institutions of socialist democracy are ceasing to be mere window-dressing. Many new political consultative institutions have been set up, providing opportunities for the different social groups to voice their opinions. These include the Consultative Council attached to the President of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic and the Public-Economic Council attached to the Sejm, both of which play an important role.

The elections to the local councils held on June 19 in Poland were in keeping with the more democratic electoral system. We have made a qualitative advance with the election of one deputy from a choice of several candidates. This is a necessary stage in moving towards higher, more democratic forms.

Democratization sets higher requirements both to government bodies and to society. The rights of citizens should be strictly combined with their duties. The lessons of democracy are not easy or quickly learned. However, there is no other or more effective organization of socialist society, just as there is no better or more reliable defence against any possible distortions and mistakes. History teaches us that.

It is difficult in one reply to outline the full variety and complexity of the problems that face us. So I shall touch on only some of them, the most important ones. I am counting on the understanding of our readers. All the more since both Soviet perestroika and the Polish renovation are live dynamic processes. Each day introduces something new in them.

And once again the comparison with ship on a stormy sea came up. Wojciech Jaruzelski emphasized that the main thing for the ship was to have a safe harbour. Then hope lives on and no trials need be feared. For Poland this harbour is its place in the socialist community. Fraternal cooperation with the U.S.S.R.

One should probably recall the West's unfriendly attitude to Poland, the attempts to play down the prestige of the country... But probably no one could seriously imagine the world, or Europe without Poland, without its voice, its fate. That is why we asked Wojciech Jaruzelski:

Taking into account Poland's experience and its numerous peaceful initiatives, including the well-known Jaruzelski Plan, how would you assess the future of

international relations?

W.J. I shall begin my answer to that question with a personal assessment. When on May 8, 1987, at the Second Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Revival I put forward a 4-point plan for the reduction of armaments and the building up of trust in Central Europe, many observers viewed it as a "correct, but unrealistic" initiative. The West's reaction could be described as "mixed." Poland's wish to resume its participation in the European dialogue was received with understanding. The connection with earlier Polish initiatives – the Rapacki Plan and the Gomulka Plan – was noted. But at the same time there were many voices that insisted that our plan complicated the mandate of the Group of 23 and was therefore not aimed at creating a competitive direction in the talks.

The Polish government presented a memorandum that developed the proposals I had made in my speech. European public opinion began noticing the new trends in the Polish plan, the possibilities offered by its flexibility and its correspondence to Europe's hopes.

Naturally, the Polish initiative, like the proposals put forward by the G.D.R., Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries could appear and arouse real interest only thanks to the openness in East-West relations that had been created by the new thinking and the Soviet peace offensive. The Soviet-American dialogue is of decisive importance.

N.T. *You probably have in mind particularly the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Moscow?*

W.J. Three years ago few people could have foreseen that the dialogue between Soviet leaders and the American President could lead to such substantial changes and create a new quality in East-West relations.

Each of the four summit meetings has been weighty.

In Geneva, after a difficult period of renewed confrontation, a start was made to overcome it and a new impetus was lent to the development of bilateral relations.

In Reykjavik the possibility of agreements hitherto regarded as unrealistic, was revealed, particularly agreements on the key issues of nuclear weapons.

In Washington a historic agreement on the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons was signed simultaneously with the adoption of unprecedented control measures.

In Moscow Gorbachev and Reagan reaffirmed the continuity of the dialogue, extended its framework in the fields of

limiting arms, defusing regional conflicts, human rights and a broader interpretation of bilateral cooperation. The so-called "enemy image" which had cast such deep shadows over relations between the two countries began to fade. An important step was made towards limiting armaments. The Moscow meeting made no progress on a 50 per cent cut in strategic armaments. But it did pave the way forward and we hope such a treaty will be concluded in the not so distant future.

We expect that it will be possible to surmount the four-year cycle in international politics connected with presidential elections in the U.S.A. It is extremely important that summits should be conducted systematically and aimed at achieving concrete decisions.

A start has been made to the difficult transition from confrontation to dialogue. Both great powers are aware of their responsibility to all of mankind. Much still remains to be done. And as Mikhail Gorbachev said: "It is not enough for one side to display realism."

The chance has appeared for a major historical compromise in ridding mankind of the ominous nuclear shadow; replacing the "balance of fear" with joint security, and the joint solution of the most important present-day problems. Favourable conditions are emerging for a dialogue and for European cooperation, which we will certainly consider at the coming Warsaw conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

Before receiving us, the First Secretary had received the leader of the Polish trade unions Alfred Miodowisz and, among other things, set him the task of getting to grips with the problem of workers' hostels. Party and youth activists rarely go to such hostels. But they should be there all the time. It is necessary to argue and to persuade. If we are not there, then our enemies are... One could even put it this way: if you can't talk to the young, then you do not have the makings of a Party worker...

Then Wojciech Jaruzelski noted with a smile that for as long as mankind has existed, older people have always criticized the young, but the principle is different: whatever kind of older generation you have, you get a similar younger one. If there is something about the younger generation that makes us wary, that worries us, we first have to take a proper look at ourselves. We have to begin with ourselves. With the family, the schools,

the army, the Party.

In Poland too the problem of youth has its specific features. First of all this is the influence of the West, the Church. That makes working with the youth more difficult. And another thing. The economic crisis has greatly affected the young in Poland. Probably this effect can only be compared with that of the last war... These are bitter problems: housing, culture, schools. At times this leads to disenchantment, to a desire to leave the country and earn money elsewhere. One can understand that, but one cannot accept it.

N.T. Mikhail Gorbachev is soon to visit Poland. We were told that a big meeting with Polish young people is planned. What significance do you attach to the visit of the Soviet leader to your country?

W.J. We attach the greatest importance to this visit. I am convinced that it will be the biggest event hitherto in Polish-Soviet relations.

Most Poles regard the alliance with the U.S.S.R. as the guarantee of our security and territorial integrity. This alliance has finally overcome past problems between our peoples which have included a number of quarrels, conflicts, and even tragedies. That past is today the subject of joint comprehensive scientific analysis, so that the consciousness of our peoples can be cleared by revealing the whole truth and eliminating the remnants of past emotions and hostility, and at the same time show up all the sources and roots of our present friendship. One should never forget the joint struggle against tsarist oppression, the role of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party in restoring an independent Poland, nor the historic mission of the liberation of Poland from Hitler's yoke, which Soviet soldiers paid for with their blood.

Top-level contacts between our parties and governments have in the past few years entered a new phase. They have become more frequent, less formal and much more concrete. This applies not only to the top level, but to all, or practically all, levels of social life. We realize, however, that there are considerably greater possibilities for mutually advantageous cooperation. Immense reserves still exist.

The role of the U.S.S.R. in the socialist community is changing. There's little sense in not admitting that forcible pressure has sometimes been applied; that there has existed mechanical copying — since that's the way it is in the U.S.S.R., then it should be the same in our country. Now things are different. Mutual trust, interaction and mutual assistance form the



Meeting with young people.

basis of our relations. I would describe it as enriched internationalism.

Our common aim, confirmed with full force during the erstwhile meetings, is to lend Polish-Soviet relations new depth and greater dynamism.

All the parties in the socialist coalition and its authorities are happy about the forthcoming visit, and the Polish public is looking forward to it with deep satisfaction and joy. Personally, I too am glad of the opportunity to meet Mikhail Gorbachev again.

This will not be the first time the General Secretary of the CC CPSU has visited Poland. He is respected in our country as the leader of a great fraternal party and a friendly power. He is appreciated for his outstanding intellect, energy, strong will, and principles, as well as for his bold and new thinking and activities, and for courageously overcoming all that was bad in the past, all that hindered development and was a retreat from the principles of socialism. In addition, he is known and loved for his frankness and openness.

Perhaps your readers do not know that a recent public opinion poll in Poland showed that Poles regard Mikhail Gorbachev as the world's most outstanding leader.

His visit to Poland comes at a time when a qualitatively new kind of cooperation is being formed between the countries of the socialist community. Today it

is not merely a simple adding up of potential, but is marked more strongly by joint efforts aimed at accelerating scientific and technical progress, at instilling businesslike attitudes, initiative and consistency into the whole system of mutual relations. We should also like the visit, talks and agreements to play a substantial role in this respect, especially strengthening the Warsaw Treaty and efforts to strengthen security in Europe as well as in renovating the structure and functions of the CMEA.

A major reserve in perfecting our cooperation — the significance and necessity of which I should like particularly to underline — lies in the better and wider use of each other's experience.

Poland is part and parcel of the great movement of socialist changes. The factors that promote the strengthening and deepening of our friendship are the ideological triumph of our course aimed at socialist renovation and your course of perestroika, the similarity of the directions of development of socialism mapped out by the PUWP and the CPSU, the complete unity in the effort for peace, content and arms limitation, and at the same time a joint search for the best solutions and bold overcoming of the hardships of the past.

In conclusion, permit me to add that I know your magazine well and I should like to congratulate you on its standards and attractiveness today.

Interviewers Vitaly Ignatenko and Rudolf Borevich

Warsaw, June 30

Fresh impetus to perestroika

Notes on the 19th CPSU Conference

It was a conference that resembled no previous Party forum. What can one say about it, when so much has already been said and written? There are, in my view, two starting points: the comparison with what existed before it, and the comparison with what we expected from it. And we expected a lot, forgetting at times the real possibilities, forgetting that only three years ago our hopes were much more modest; today they have been fulfilled, so we are beginning to take them for granted.

Compared with the past, the present Party conference stands head and shoulders above any of its predecessors for its democratism and depth of the discussions, the pluralism of views, the sincerity of all the speeches, and the boldness of the decisions adopted.

To compare it with our expectations would be the virtual equivalent of comparing a live person with an ideal. Not all the delegates, not all the speeches satisfied us, some liked some, while others liked others. It could not have been otherwise. The composition of the delegates reflected the state of Soviet society: the overwhelming majority are in favour, in principle, of continuing perestroika, but not everyone shares the same views on how this should be done in practice. And when at times from the rostrum of the conference we detected a false note, we forgot that others might perceive it differently.

The conference passed off in the spirit encouraged by Lenin: the spirit of great responsibility to the people and the resolution triumphed. Attempts to deviate from the Leninist line were given a strong buff.

Time will have to pass before we can fully appreciate the significance of the conference and its decisions. But it is already absolutely clear that it was a major landmark in the course of perestroika. The decisions it elaborated are an integral part of perestroika and at the same time a catalyst of renewal.

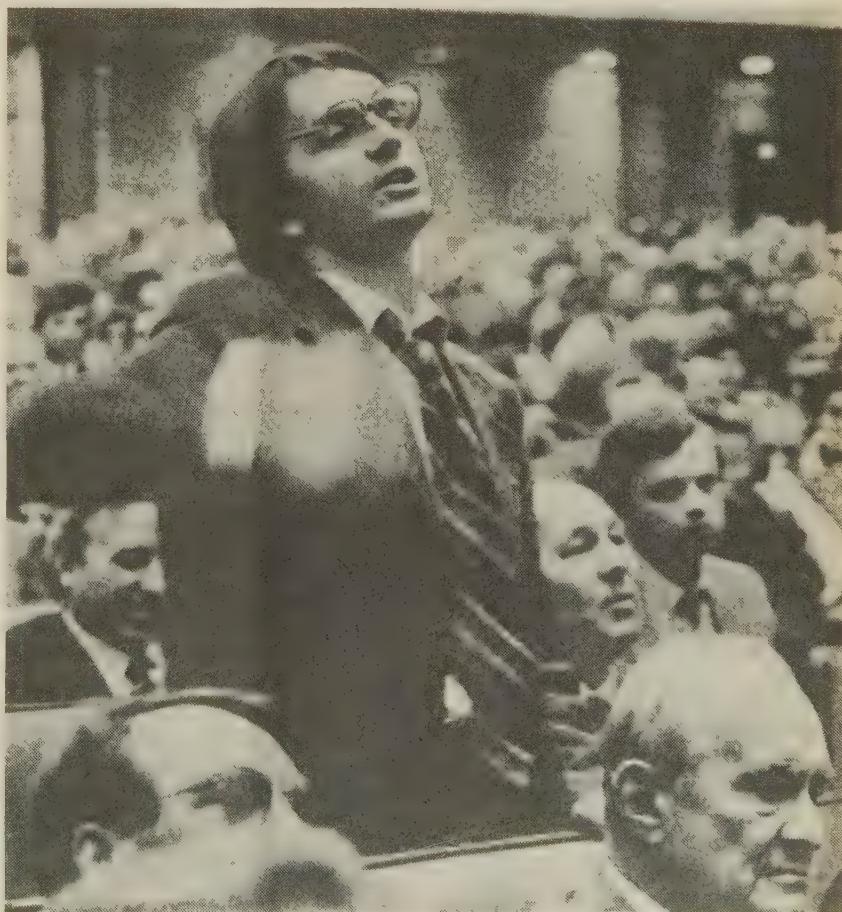
The principal result of the conference, Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out in his concluding speech, is that a programmed political stand has been drawn up on all the basic issues that have been the subject of discussion by the entire Party and the entire people on the basis of the CC CPSU motions.

The first reaction to Gorbachev's speech both in the conference hall and outside it was unexpected: how typical of him! The speech contained none of customary unambiguous answers and solutions to many of the questions that troubled the Party and the people. We were

The conference believes that a cardinal reform of the political system is becoming a top-priority task. The reform is to open new possibilities for the deepening of perestroika in every sphere of public life and to provide guarantees that will make perestroika irreversible.

From the resolution on "Progress in carrying out the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and tasks for the deepening of perestroika," adopted by the 19th CPSU Conference.

all used to a different style: Party and state forums open with a report where all the t's are crossed, all the i's dotted, so that further discussions are reduced chiefly to approval of the points made in the report and miniscale amendments. This time, and therein lies the new style of the report, plenty of room was left for discussion of the most significant issues. Both from the rostrum and in the confer-



Asking for the floor

ence lobby delegates argued, at times expressing diametrically opposite views, and not merely pretending to be looking for the truth, which had long been found, but genuinely seeking it. Gradually we came to understand that it was time we got used to such reports and such discussions. But how difficult it is to get used to that and adapt not simply to approving what the leader says with stormy applause, but to taking a real part in drafting decisions, taking a certain public stand, without knowing for certain how it will be received "at the top."

The conference showed that most people in the Party were ready for this. About 300 people put down their names to speak in the discussions. About 150 had their say in the commissions editing the resolutions. But the main thing is how the delegates spoke and what they said. They not only supported the proposals made by the CC CPSU, but substantially enriched them with the experience of Party organizations and work collectives. The discussions at the conference carried on and in effect developed the new political atmosphere in the country, the atmosphere of liberated creativity, which has come into being in the three years of perestroika.

The words from the rostrum were received by various delegates differently: there was none of the past proverbial unanimity. This different reception reflected the system under which the delegates were elected. The Party had not seen such elections for more than half a century. In many cases Communists really had elected those they deemed worthy, and not by injunction. Consequently those who were taking part in such a forum for the first time saw many new faces. There were far fewer "wedding generals" who had appeared in the Kremlin only to ensure that the report of the credentials commission should have the right percentage of workers, collective farmers, women and young people...

The existence at the elections of a so-called central list, under which senior officials from Moscow were elected as delegates by Party organizations in other republics and regions, sharply increased the representation at the conference of the Party and, to some extent, the state apparatus. Some of this group of delegates had obtained their credentials not for their merits in advancing perestroika, but as if they were owed there by virtue of the posts they held.

So it was only natural that apparatus officials reacted very coolly to such statements from speakers as the following:

"Such a system (centralized distribu-

tion of funds amongst the local Soviets) produces the illusion that a central apparatus is both necessary and important, and that one must go begging to it for every ruble" (Vadim Bakatin, First Secretary of the Kemerovo regional Party committee).

"It will be possible to take away from the apparatus the right they have usurped to command, and I am firmly convinced that this will only be possible if the economy is democratized. It must be



The writers Evgeny Evtushenko and Chinghiz Aitmatov, delegates to the conference.

made a law that only he who earns the money has the right to dispose of it" (Dmitry Motorny, Chairman of the Kirov collective farm, Kherson Region).

"In general we are used to believing in the power of decrees and the possibility of changing things by new decisions. But experience does not confirm this" (Leonid Abalkin, Director of the Institute of Economics of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences).

The few mistakes made in the elections did not affect the principal outcome of the conference: it approved the programme for the further development of perestroika and for democratization. It happened just as Svyatoslav Fyodorov, the famous eye surgeon and delegate to the conference, had predicted. On the eve of the forum I asked him for his reaction to press reports of certain violations of democracy in the election of delegates. "These reports," he said, "should be thoroughly checked. But in principle such cases change nothing. The conference will still come out in favour of perestroika. That is what the overwhelming majority of the people want. And I doubt if anyone will come out against."

● In the past it happened that delegates wrote their speeches well in advance and read them out, no matter what had been said by others. That was the general rule, and most people had more or less become used to it. This time the rule was entirely different. Most speakers obviously

changed their texts so as not to repeat points that had already been made in replying to questions that had come up in the debate. But not all. Y. Surkov, a worker from the Moscow factory for processing special alloys, remarked in this connection: "The conference has very little time left. And I can't sit back and watch this time being wasted by some speakers. In this connection I should like to draw attention to the fact that, strange as it may seem, in the speeches of the first secretaries one can sense the old stereotype."

Having pronounced these words – absolutely unimaginable in the Palace of Congresses, Surkov continued: "The party is working badly at bringing forward leaders... I believe that attention should be focussed on leaders, on training them and removing all the barriers in their way. If we had everywhere a leader who could find his bearings and get the masses to follow him, there would have been no such appeals as we heard here where some delegates appealed to Comrade Gorbachev to come personally to their place and see what's happening and resolve the problem."

You don't know whether to be glad that such words should have come from the rostrum or to be sad that they reflect the realities.

● The subject of leaders was also touched on by other delegates. The Director-General of the "Microsurgery of the eye" scientific and technical complex Svyatoslav Fyodorov, for instance, said that when the Public Health Ministers of the Union republics visited him they looked around, full of admiration, but said – we'd never be able to do such a thing. Why? We don't have the leaders," they explained. How can one believe that a great nation cannot produce leaders? What's the matter? Can't the Party train leaders? That is exactly what it ought to be doing! The conference did not specifically consider the problem of leaders, but it arose from the more general problem of the Party as the political vanguard. Under the command-administrative system, for instance, the secretary of the district committee was considered the leader because he could command everything and everyone. And it was hard to draw a line between his personal authority and respect for his office. Now the Party is consciously renouncing the authority of the office a person holds. Party functionaries will have to prove their right to leadership each time by concrete actions.

● I'm afraid that not all the Party secretaries who spoke in the Kremlin will be

able to cope with such a task. And the more clearly they understand that, the harder they will find it to abandon the system that produced and maintained them.

"People say bluntly: if you find it impossible to control the departments, we shall find the means to bring you to heel," said the First Secretary of the CC of the Latvian Communist Party Boris Pugo. Did you notice the new way the problem was put? The departments in question were the central ones, which republican Party bodies could do nothing about, while from their fellow citizens they were protected by the "authority of their office" and could shrug their shoulders and reply, "it doesn't depend on us." A leader cannot take such a convenient stand. The people will no longer allow it. At no level.

"Incidentally, when we meet with the people they say bluntly: 'We have no idea what concrete issues each member of the Politbureau is personally responsible.' The people should know such things so that they can see and judge how they cope. Whom to thank concretely for successes or whom to blame for failures" (Veniamin Yarin, rolling mill operator at the Tagil Metallurgical Plant).

● An interesting exchange took place during the speech of the General Director of the Broiler Producing Association Stavropolskoye Victor Postnikov. Turning to Mikhail Gorbachev, he said: "Mikhail Sergeyevich, perestroika is a revolution. You said that we shall seek to carry it through calmly, using humane methods. But if it's a revolution then it can't be implemented by such methods. It's useless to keep trying to persuade people, to teach, for example, bureaucrats. We know that in this hall too there are opponents of perestroika and you can't do anything with them — they have to be kicked out and expelled from the Party."

From Mikhail Gorbachev's reply: "I think that if the CC again begins removing the bureaucrats sitting next to you in the Stavropol Area or even in your Association, or perhaps higher up, in the Russian Federation, or somewhere else, we won't

THE 19th NATIONAL PARTY CONFERENCE ADOPTED RESOLUTIONS ON

"Progress in carrying out the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and tasks for the deepening of perestroika";

"Democratization of the Soviet society and reform of the political system"; "Combating bureaucratism";

"Inter-nationality relations"; "Glasnost";

"Some urgent steps towards practical implementation of the reform of the country's political system"; "Legal reform."

get anywhere. That has already been tried. We have tried to do a great deal from the top. Nothing has come of it. Today we are trying to get all of society moving through an economic reform, through a reform of the political system, an improvement in the general climate, through the mass media. Then the bureaucrat will have nowhere to turn to — the ground will fall from under his feet. That is what he is afraid of."

● That is the essence of the matter: to create a public mechanism through which the people themselves will be involved in deciding all issues, and no matter can be decided over their heads.

This mechanism presupposes the active daily participation of the mass media in the life of society. And although everybody seems to understand the role of the press in perestroika, the conference revealed that there were differences of opinion as to how it should play its role.

Grigory Baklanov, editor-in-chief of the magazine *Znamya*, said: "Throughout history people have fought for their own enslavement with an energy and passion that is permissible only in fighting for their freedom. When the 1937 trials were taking place in the Hall of Columns and people came out with posters demanding the death sentence, they didn't suspect that soon they would be treated in the same way. He who today fights glasnost is fighting for his own enslavement.

When he wants to speak out, he will not be allowed to. And what kind of socialism is it without glasnost? And, comrades, have we only just had a sip of freedom and everybody has choked on it? Have they started coughing?"

Some of those present did not like Baklanov's words. Perhaps he was saying something that everybody already knew? It would be fine if that were the case. But what makes one wary is the clearly approving reaction of delegates to any criticism of the press. One can only wonder if Party functionaries prefer an obedient press they can keep in their pockets.

The conference discussed not only changes in the style of work of Party bodies, but also in their structure. "The truth today is also that many Party cadres, who for years have been orientated to technocratic methods, are not ready to work differently. We select for the Party apparatus, as has already been underlined here, not political commissars, but people working in industry, construction and trade. Take a look at the structure of the apparatus of the CC CPSU: it is not only the Ministries and Departments, but also their subbranches that are represented in the sections of the CC apparatus. That largely predetermines the structure and style of work of area, regional and district Party committees. We fully support the proposal to abandon the branch principle of the structure of the Party apparatus" (Ivan Polozkov, First Secretary of the Krasnodar Area Party committee).

Delegates were worried that this might happen this time as well, for the bureaucratic system still lives on, having remained virtually unscathed, and is prepared to defend itself.

In my opinion this well-founded alarm was expressed most vividly by the General Director of the Ivanovo machine tool production association Vladimir Kabaidze: "Those damn papers are growing. I have realized one thing: it is hopeless to fight papers — one has to kill their authors."

So it was only natural that the conference should have adopted a special resolution "On combating bureaucratism."

That resolution and all the others adopted by the conference are called upon to ensure the all-round democratization of society.

Alexander Guber



Lt. Gen. Boris Gromov, commander of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, centre, in an interval between sittings.

Of paragraphs, useful and harmful

"War is too serious a business to be left to the generals," it is said. There are numerous variations of this dictum and one of them warns against leaving the cause of peace to the diplomats. That, of course, is the extreme view. Recent years have shown how useful diplomats can be when they project the political will of statesmen into the reality of international relations.

Nevertheless I wish to raise my voice in protest. Against the danger to Europe of the substitution for a broad political movement of narrow diplomatic activity. To the Europe which in 1975 performed a feat of supreme civic courage by proclaiming that Charter of the 20th Century – the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. This laid the foundation for what in contemporary foreign policy parlance is termed the all-European process.

It is a momentous process. If only because it involves not one but 35 countries, and (apart from everything else) includes the two opposite poles of the modern world – the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. How important that is! For some reason, however, it has become customary to assume that the relations between the "superpowers" is one thing and Europe is something else again. Would it not be better to take this view: the more mutual understanding there is between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. the better it is for Europe inasmuch as both countries are participants in the all-European process.

But where is that process? Since 1975 diplomats from the 35 countries have been meeting regularly – in Belgrade, in Madrid, in Stockholm and now in Vienna. They hold sessions. For months. For years. They argue. They draw up new documents, investing tremendous energy and no mean skill in their drafting. But has this imparted significant momentum to the all-European process and raised it to a higher qualitative level? What is happening, as I see it, is the gradual self-alienation of diplomatic action from the real life of Europe. After all, substantial changes are constantly taking place on the continent. Mutual ties are being strengthened, missiles are being removed. Accordingly, the situation as regards verification and mutual confidence is radically changing. A major step forward has been taken in relations between the CMEA and the EEC. Yet at the meeting of the 35 – this time in Vienna – the "tug-of-war" and the weighing of the various "baskets" has been going on for more than 18 months.

It is not we who are to blame for the formal approach to the all-European process. When back in 1977 in Belgrade, the American delegation took the "third basket" out of the general context of the Final Act and counterposed the human rights issue to all the other provisions of the Act, it started the fragmentation of that document and the subsequent debates that dragged out for months and even years. As a natural reaction to the overemphasis on the "third basket," the majority of the participating countries wanted to see balanced decisions on all the "baskets," and this in turn complicated the adoption of the relevant documents. In Belgrade the debate went on for six months, in Madrid, for nearly three years. When one issue (essentially the first "basket") was chosen for discussion at the Stockholm conference on confidence-building measures, security and disarmament, its examination took more than two years.

Lev
Bezymensky



FOCUS ON VIENNA

Now, since November 1986 debates have been going on in Vienna. Moreover, a curious situation has developed: when the Vienna session was still in the offing a new initiative was advanced which opened the way to resolving the main obstacle in the Helsinki process – scaling down military tension in Europe. The idea of reducing armed forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals which was put forward in the beginning of 1986 by the Warsaw Treaty countries, went beyond all previous approaches to the question of military détente. How did it fit into the Vienna "baskets"? At first, not at all. Subsequently, in a sense in the framework of the meeting of the 35, there began meetings of 23 countries members of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, to work out the terms of reference for new negotiations.

Meanwhile life goes on. Not long ago the Warsaw Treaty countries worked out a new and extremely effective blueprint for talks on reducing conventional armaments. It envisages several stages: exchange of information, inspection and verification, elimination of asymmetry, simultaneous reduction of 500,000 men on each side, and transition to a new structure of the forces of both blocs. But for this blueprint to be realized the talks must be started. One might ask the diplomats in session in Vienna: is it necessary to wait for agreement to be reached on all the "baskets," on every paragraph, before the talks can begin?

Here is another instance of the divergence between real life and diplomatic practice. It would seem to be clear to all by now that all attempts to make headway in the talks (also in Vienna) on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe have failed. More than 14 years have passed, and nothing has been achieved! Yet the diplomats go on meeting only to mark time. Meanwhile life has produced (over the heads of the diplomats) some highly interesting and imaginative ideas: to create a nuclear-free corridor in Central Europe and zones of scaled-down confrontation. The ideas were advanced by participants in the Helsinki conference – the G.D.R., Czechoslovakia and Poland. They are supported by Sweden, Greece and public opinion in the F.R.G. The Berlin meeting showed how popular these ideas are.

The European public should not sit back with folded arms in the face of the imminent deformation of the Helsinki decisions. All attention must be focussed on Vienna, should be the watchword. It is imperative to set up without delay groups for the observation and control of the all-European process. To send delegations and petitions to all the talks going on in Vienna. To underscore the importance of the all-European problems and urge solutions. The committees for European security and cooperation already existing in many European countries could play an important role here.

The Helsinki process must be raised to a higher, more realistic plane. At the recent conference of political and public leaders in Potsdam G.D.R. Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer rightly observed that the Helsinki Final Act laid down the "rules of behavior" in our European home. But should life in any home be confined to the observance of rules? From Helsinki the road must lead forward, for the underlying all-European idea set forth in the Final Act is not confined to one or another of its provisions. If there are paragraphs that prove to be obstacles, so much the worse for the paragraphs.

Gulf tragedy

On July 3 an Iran Air jumbo jet on a regular flight from the port of Bandar Abbas in Iran to Dubai in the United Arab Emirates, was brought down over the Persian Gulf by a direct hit from the U.S. missile cruiser The Vincennes. All 298 passengers and the crew were killed.

How it happened

Newsman learned of the tragedy on the same day. AP reported that Pentagon spokesman Stepp told correspondents that an American naval helicopter had been fired at by Iranian coast guard boats. The cruiser Vincennes and frigate Montgomery, which were in the area at the time, opened fire from five-inch cannons. According to reports, the Pentagon spokesman added, two Iranian gunboats were sunk and a third damaged. The Vincennes captain also reported, Stepp noted, that his ship had shot down an Iranian F-14 fighter, closing in "with hostile intent." The Vincennes, incidentally, is equipped with the sophisticated automated Aegis anti-aircraft system.

A dispatch dated the same day from the Iranian news agency IRNA said: "Iranian lifeguards spotted the bodies of some 100 passengers from the Iran Air A-300 Airbus in the Persian Gulf. They also discovered fragments of the airliner, which indicated its having been shot down by a missile."

Iran declared that "not a single Iranian F-14 aircraft had been in the air during the incident."

The tragedy occurred in the narrowest part of the Persian Gulf - the Strait of Hormuz where, from aboard tankers lying the narrow strip of neutral waters, one can see Iranian coast guard boats on one side, and those of Oman and the United Arab Emirates on the other.

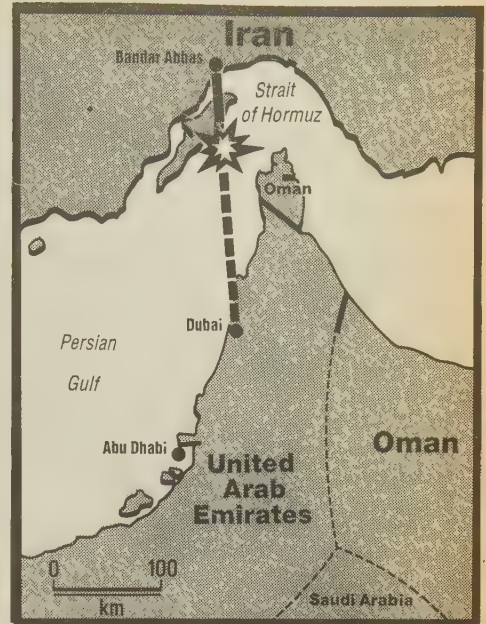
The presence of the U.S. Navy's armoured mammoths in this part of the Gulf not only cramps the area, but also keeps the situation constantly on the

brink of armed confrontation, especially considering the continuing Iran-Iraq war.

Nasser Heirani Nobari, Iran's ambassador to the U.S.S.R., says:

"I put the beginning of the tragedy at 8:55 Moscow time July 3, the moment when a U.S. warship infringed on Iranian territorial waters in the area of Qishm and Hangan islands. After exchanging fire with Iranian coast guard vessels it retired, but not for long. From Sunday morning on the U.S. Navy continued its provocation. During one exchange of fire two Islamic Revolutionary Guards were wounded and fell overboard, but were rescued. At 10:55, in the vicinity of Hangan Island, an American ship fired two missiles at an Iranian civil airliner. Both missiles scored a direct hit, the Airbus exploded and the fragments and passengers fell into the water. At the time the plane was 10,000 feet up. People on Hangan Island could see with the naked eye that it was an ordinary airliner. They also saw it blow up in midair over Iranian territorial waters. By midday on July 4, lifeguards had picked up 168 bodies, of which 66 were children's, mostly under-sevens. The other passengers killed included citizens of Yugoslavia, Italy, Pakistan, Kuwait and other countries. The search for the victims continues."

When asked by our reporter what the ambassador regarded as a solution to the current strained situation in the Persian Gulf, he said: "It is first of all vital to remove all United States warships from the Persian Gulf. The U.S. supports Iraq and is trying to profit from the situation



that it has itself inflamed. As for proposals to replace the U.S. naval presence with international U.N. naval contingents, any intervention in the Persian Gulf by extraneous forces is in my view unjustified. The countries in the region should themselves resolve the issues, including the current Iran-Iraq conflict. Experience shows that the U.S. naval presence has exacerbated the situation, increased the death toll and made not only shipping but also international air communications unsafe. We reserve the right to retaliate against the United States."

Shot down by mistake?

As soon as he learned of the tragedy, U.S. President Ronald Reagan sent his condolences on the destruction of the Iranian airliner. According to the Washington Post, he ordered the Pentagon to confirm that the tragedy had been due to mistaken identification of an aircraft in the war-torn Gulf.

The Pentagon at once carried out this order, albeit with reservations. Admiral William Crowe, Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, declared that the U.S. cruiser The Vincennes in the Strait of Hormuz had destroyed an Iranian airliner which it had mistaken for a fighter plane. Simultaneously both Admiral Crowe and President Reagan vindicated cruiser captain William Rogers' actions by claiming that his paramount duty had been to protect his ship. The



This is an airbus A-300. Next to it is a picture of F-14. Can they be confused if viewed from a distance of 3 km?

men directly executing the operation that had brought about the airliner's destruction said that they had spotted the aircraft's take-off from Bandar Abbas on radar screens. They alleged that they had repeatedly radioed warnings to the aircraft, but received no reply. Aboard the cruiser it had been decided that it was an Iranian F-14 fighter closing in with hostile intent.

An expert's view

Vitaly Bordunov, senior researcher on the staff of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law, says:

"The attempt to put the incident down to human error, a blunder on the part of the cruiser's captain, is doubtful. After all, civilian aircraft fly international air routes, agreed within the context of

ICAO, the International Civil Aviation Organization. All, including the military, are familiar with these air corridors, the more so as several such flights from Bandar Abbas take place daily. In line with the instituted regulations, military aircraft do not use these corridors. Consequently, considering the aforesaid

Fifteen years ago, five years ago, today... (From New Times files)

On February 21, 1973 an Israeli fighter shot down a Libyan Arab Airlines Boeing-727 en route from Tripoli to Cairo via Benghazi. All 106 people aboard were killed.

At the time the United States had nothing to say about any "crime," any "mass reprisal," any "savagery" or more so any "state terrorism." They did not think of closing their airports or the airports of their allies even for a moment to Israeli El-Al aircraft. Hence their attitude was one of caution, restraint and the wish to consider what had happened as run-of-the-mill. (Jeune Afrique, Paris, September 1983.)

"When Admiral Crowe, Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, gave the relevant explanations, he recalled the South Korean aircraft episode, noting the differences of principle between the

two tragedies. Let us now see what these differences amount to.

"The South Korean plane had intruded deep into our airspace in a key strategic area. Meanwhile the Iranian airliner was flying over its own territory and above international waters. The South Korean Boeing was partnered by an American spy plane of comparable dimensions. The Iranian plane was alone in midair and there were no Iranian military aircraft in the area at the time."

(From the reply given by Gennady Gerasimov, U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Department chief, at a news conference on July 4, 1988.)

It has always been a tradition in the civilized world to offer aid to seamen and airmen who have gone astray or are in jeopardy by sea or in the air. All who

cherish human life bend over backwards to protect and defend it and it is essential for us as civilized societies to give deep thought to the nature of the regimes that do not abide by such principles.

(From Ronald Reagan's statement of September 1983.)

When the aircraft did not reply to the repeated warnings, the Vincennes followed operational orders and the widely known procedures of opening fire to protect itself from likely attack.

(From Ronald Reagan's statement of July 3, 1988.)

"The French government was shocked to learn of the destruction of an Iranian civil airliner. Countries must jointly strive to avoid the repetition of such developments and secure a settlement that will bring peace and stability to the region."

(From a French Ministry of Foreign Affairs statement of July 3, 1988.)

rules, the conclusion suggests itself that the decision to attack the airbus was quite consciously taken.

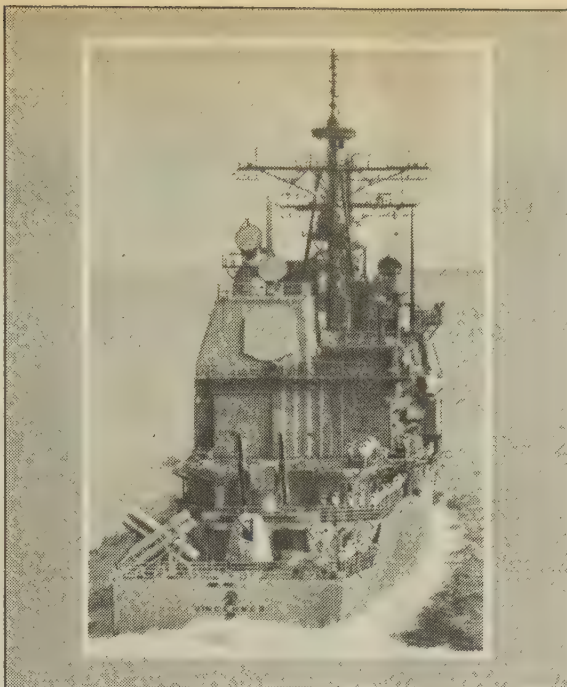
"Further. To ascertain the speed of an aircraft, it is quite enough to watch the radar screen. The F-14 fighter flies at a speed of Mach-2, while the A-300 airbus does 865 kilometres per hour. If the American watchers aboard the ship failed to take that into account, it is criminal.

"As I see it, the American military are obviously guilty. International law applies such sanctions as compensation for the material and moral damage inflicted on Iran and on the relatives of the passengers aboard the plane.

"In this connection I feel I must recall the affair of the South Korean aircraft shot down over Soviet territory in 1983. At an emergency session in Montreal in May of the following year, the ICAO Assembly adopted article No. 3-bis supplementary to the Chicago convention, whose gist comes down to the statement that in accordance with elementary humane considerations, the safety and lives of persons aboard civilian craft must be guaranteed. To this end the ICAO member states, including the U.S., agreed to refrain henceforth from the use of arms against civilian craft in flight."

**New Times correspondent
Evgeny Andrianov
reports from New York:**

"It is unclear how the radar screens on a first-class U.S. ship fitted out with up-to-the minute equipment could confuse an enormous jumbo jet designed to carry 300 passengers and a crew of nearly 20 with a small fighter bomber flown by only two pilots and, moreover, from a comparatively short distance. Furthermore, it is well known in the U.S. that Iran's F-14 aircraft were delivered back in the 1970s, when royalist Teheran was the U.S.A.'s military ally. After the Khomeini administration took over, military deliveries, including spare parts for armaments already in Iran's possession, were terminated, for which reason several years these aircraft have not been flown. Only in newspapers for July 4, that is, 24 hours after the tragedy, did there appear re-



The cruiser Vincennes whose missiles hit the Iranian airliner.

ports, citing 'intelligence sources,' that recently ten of the Iranian air force's F-14s had been spotted in flight.

"I would also like to note the fact that according to the U.S. State Department's official spokesman, the incident involving the Iran Air jumbo jet would not, as he said, result in any fundamental change in U.S. policy vis-à-vis the Persian Gulf.

NEW TIMES COMMENT

One can agree or disagree with Mr Nasser Heirani Nobari, Iran's ambassador to the U.S.S.R., as to whether it would be worthwhile inviting a U.N. international force to the Persian Gulf to ensure the safety of shipping or whether the Persian Gulf countries could themselves evolve an acceptable way of ensuring such safety.

However, one cannot but agree with his demand to end the U.S. military presence in this extremely inflamed region. Who is to blame for this situation? Of course, Iraq and Iran, who have extended hostilities from their land borders to this international zone of navigation and brisk commerce. We cannot approve the practice of the two belligerents attacking the tankers of third parties that have no involvement in the present conflict.

However, statistics indicate that after U.S. naval ships sailed into the Persian Gulf, the situation heated up unprecedentedly. We have already cited such figures (see New Times No.

37, 1987): in 1984-85 an average of six attacks a month was inflicted on tankers, while in 1986 these attacks averaged 8-10 a month. Since the U.S. naval armada entered the Persian Gulf the monthly average of attacks on tankers has reached 19. Meanwhile the U.S. itself is attacking Iran with increasing intensity, destroying its oil-rigs, sinking ships and now, to crown it all, shooting down an airliner.

It has long been plain that the use of force to end force is pointless. It is axiomatic today that force begets force. Regional conflicts only end when negotiation supersedes force. One does not have to go far from the region to illustrate that. Thanks to the efforts of the Arab League and the Organization of African Unity, North Africa is being successfully transformed into a zone of peace and cooperation. Or take Afghanistan: thanks to the mediation of the U.N., this much-suffering country now has real chances of ending its civil war.

Whose efforts can be relied on to turn the Persian Gulf into a zone of peace and cooperation? The world community through the U.N., we think. Why not try this, at least? After all, so many countries have a stake in peace in the area and the flourishing of commerce there. The United States, whose oil reserves have been calculated almost down to the last barrel, also has a stake. There is no need to indicate how true this is of the peoples of Iran and Iraq, who are sacrificing their lives, not profits.

Neither a trial of strength nor threats of sanctions are needed here, but deep thought as to how the belligerents can be reconciled. Indeed, if the vigorous efforts U.S. naval forces have put into bombarding and destroying Iranian installations were employed to make peace, no doubt peace would have come long ago to the region.

On the other hand, the belligerents themselves must realize that obstinacy and intransigence cost thousands upon thousands of lives, including those of posterity. When one country takes a step towards peace, the other side should take two steps to meet it on the way. The world community has already offered a key, notably, U.N. Security Council Resolution No. 598.

One can easily imagine what passengers flying across the Persian Gulf feel nowadays. Suppose ship's captain William Rogers again "imagines" that an airliner is not an airliner? His missiles hit their targets. Indeed, what can one expect of a chap like that!

**Prepared by D. Zgersky, K. Isakov,
V. Khilchevskaya and M. Khrobostov.**

*Photos from Jeune Afrique (Paris)
and Reuter-TASS telephoto*

Travellers on the road

Galina Sidorova,

New Times
special correspondent

*We are on the move.
Our feet leave imprints in the
rubbery asphalt. Our clothing
sticks to us. The humid 40-degree
air is motionless. It begins
to seem as if the inventive
American civilization
has faded away.*

To onlookers, we probably look like the first colonists who advanced to conquer new lands. But we differ from those who crossed the Atlantic at the dawn of the American state in certain achievements of scientific and technical progress: trailers carry our tents and sleeping bags, there are mobile toilets, and a bus to pick up those who have reached the limits of their endurance. But few people avail themselves of its services. Most persist in walking on their own two feet, despite the warnings of some of the people looking on that it is impossible to walk in such a heat.

We continue to march. Cars and faces pass us by. From time to time we hear the question: what are you marching for?

Indeed, why and what for?

I, too, asked myself that question back in 1986 during the Soviet-American Mississippi cruise when, in the town of Davenport (Iowa), we met with participants in the Great Peace March. A week before I left for the United States this time I received a letter from Anne Macfarlane, a New Zealander, one of the few foreigners who took part in that march. Our paths had crossed in Davenport. She sent me her book "Feet Across America." Reading the details of that nine-month epic of Americans and like-minded foreigners, I again stopped to think: what had prompted them to go through such hardships and privations, to be drenched by the rain, covered with snow, cross the desert and fall ill? To attract attention to their aims and convictions? Yes, that, I would say, was the reason. Incidentally, in the United States

marches are a traditional way of expressing one's views. It was, then two years ago, that the American organization International Peace Walk (IPW) came into being and together with the Soviet Peace Committee sponsored the Leningrad-Moscow March last summer and now the march across the United States.

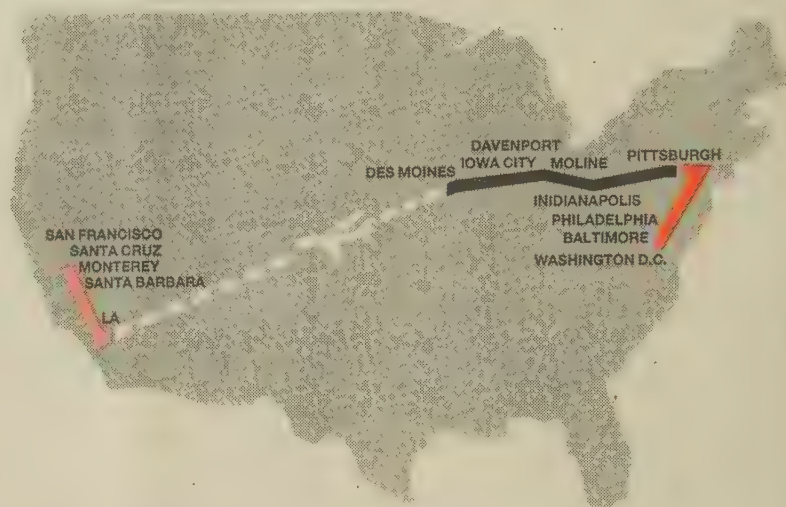
"If we have enough honesty and courage we can inspire others," Allan Affeldt, former psychology lecturer at a California college and now International Peace Walk President, remarked to me. "Our goal," he added, "is disarmament and the non-violent settlement of international conflicts. The most serious confrontations are those that could arise between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. That is why today we are searching for ways to combat the causes that could give rise to them."

"We" means the 200 Soviet and about 100 American participants ranging in age from 8 to 70 who are taking part in the peace march. We have to walk across the United States from Washington to San Francisco in 32 days. Some sections of the route will be covered by bus or plane – since the territory of the country is so vast. Each day we walk about 12-15 miles.

Life on the move

How do we live?

We get up at 6.30 a.m., crawl out of



our sleeping bags and tents, and rush to the water cisterns with toothbrushes and shaving equipment. Then we hurry to collapsible tables where a light breakfast and a packed lunch of sandwiches and vegetables await us. After that we pack the heavier equipment onto the trailer and set off. Some of the marchers make their ways to different local organizations – factories, schools, colleges, firms, farms and the church, while the majority march on to the next stopover.

During the 45-minute lunch break or the grass we more or less recover. We joyfully sluice ourselves down with water and drink without end: Americans believe that this is essential during the march in hot humid weather. Then we start off again. But with greater enthusiasm to the next place where we strike camp.

Each day we become more expert in putting up our tents.

Round about five o'clock, somewhere in the vicinity of our next camp, the shower rented by the organizers of the march starts functioning – that is the happiest moment of the day for everyone.

By the time we have had our shower people from the neighbouring towns have gathered at the camp, attracted simply by curiosity or a sincere desire to learn more about our cause. Sometimes there are more, sometimes fewer. As a rule, there are more when we stop

middle-class prosperous places, and fewer where people have enough problems of their own.

Some of them take us to their homes, some to pot-luck meals in the local churches – a uniquely American arrangement, when parishioners bring some of their own cooking or baking to feed the whole company. At the camp there is a constant stream of people coming and going. We talk, talk, talk until late at night, and as the final act of each day we pump up our mattresses, and lie down on the moist warm American soil that smells so much like that of Central Russia. At night the police watch over us, especially when we stop over in areas closest to the poorest quarters, like in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. In that backwoods, my colleagues from the daily papers had to walk a long way to the nearest telephone in the police precinct. A rare situation for America, where telephones exist in every house.

A symbol, but not just a symbol

So what after all is our march?

Of course, it is a symbol of sorts. Its beginning at the steps of the Capitol was symbolic with the blessing of Senator Tom Harkin. It was he who in 1987 came out in the Senate in support of the Soviet-American march. Equally symbolic was the fact that the Senator quoted Abraham Lincoln's words about two ways of getting rid of an enemy: either destroying him physically, or making a friend of him.

Symbolic too were the proclamations adopted by the mayors of most of the towns along our route, starting with that of Mayor Marion Barry of the District of Columbia. She proclaimed the day we spent in the town as Soviet-American Peace March Day and called on the people to support it. In the town of Tacoma Park (Maryland) after making his proclamation, Mayor Stephen J. Del Giudice told us that recently the town's authorities had decided not to buy goods from companies that produced nuclear armaments. That too is symbolic, isn't it?

Equally symbolic was the candlelight concert in Willington given by Soviet and American artistes taking part in the march. It took place on June 22 and attracted an audience of about fifteen hundred. Also symbolic that evening was the sermon in memory of those killed in the second world war preached by an Orthodox priest taking part in the march.

Symbolic too was the indifference to our march that we noticed passing through Washington and certain other towns, as well as the hospitality of those who offered us supper at our camps or to put us up in their homes.



The beginning of the walk – at the steps of the Capitol.

The history of Soviet-American relations in recent years is in many respects made up of symbols. They are like beacons marking the way. They create the atmosphere without which concrete political decisions are impossible.

But of course the March was far from being just a symbol. Travellers met on a single road leading to a common goal – we want to build new mutual relations. Our small march community is a sort of model of such relations, with all the difficulties and advantages of them. Pluses and minuses. A fairly motley community. How not to become just fellow travellers, sharing a tent, but also friends. It turned out that learning to share the hardships and discomforts of life on the march is easier than learning to understand one another. Especially since the Americans sought in every way to make things easier for us and took over many of the camp duties.

Clash of cultures

Why the difficulties?

One evening we discussed that with 27-year-old Marie Connor. She is planning to teach in college or work in a Catholic church. In general, mixing with people, helping them with advice and bringing them reassurance is her goal in life.

"My parents don't understand me," she said. "I left home and live with strangers. But they have become closer to me than my own family. I saw war and death when I travelled in Latin America. And I'm no idealist, like many of my compatriots taking part in this march."

"What do you mean by idealism?"

"Some Americans taking part in the anti-war movement come from well-off families with few troubles. What they are doing is done with sincerity. It comes from their hearts, but they don't always see things realistically. They think that because we are walking across America together, because we have a common goal, we are changing the world. I don't

believe it is as simple as that. That is only a beginning. And as in every new thing – I have in mind the establishment of more normal relations between our countries and individual citizens – lots of problems arise. In day-to-day relations between Soviet people and Americans, in the little things, meetings and at times clashes of culture arise. Many expected that here in our small community we would be able to create an ideal world in which everyone would feel happy. It's as if we expect perfection from others. But ideal relations have not developed. We are not perfect, and that bothers some people. I think some of the Americans would have dropped out of the march already if the knowledge of the 2,500 dollars paid for it did not stop them, and if so much effort had not been made to get you to come. But I think that by the end of the march many of those who would now like to drop out will be glad they didn't. Today we speak too often about how similar we are, shutting our eyes to the differences, but that too is wrong. Because it is through understanding the differences that the way to mutual understanding lies."

"And what do you see as the main difference?"

"Well, culture and tradition, and our perception of certain problems. For instance, the Soviet leadership of the



A light breakfast, a packed lunch – and off we go.

march seeks to overorganize everything down to the last detail, to programme it. Americans are inclined to let some things slide, which of course causes a degree of chaos, but we are used to it. And another thing that I believe to be very important – the horrors of war are in the Soviet people's blood. For Americans it is something more distant and abstract."

"So you're more of a pessimist than an optimist?"

"No, I'm not a pessimist. What gives me hope is people's reaction to the march. When we visit people in their homes, when we are greeted en route, when people express support through a joke or a kind word, then I feel they are beginning to see themselves in you. And then I feel both proud and happy that we are together."

We were joined by Ron Herson, now retired, but who in the past worked as a radiologist in California. Together with his wife Pat he took part in last year's Leningrad March, and in general has travelled half the world on foot. He's been to China, to the Himalayas.

The couple are enthusiastic supporters of the Soviet-American peace walk. But Ron and "Granny" Pat have their

own ideas about the difficulties.

"You are far too secretive," he said, "You don't like to speak about your mistakes, as if they will disappear if you don't talk about them. We Americans shout at every corner about our mistakes. It's a good thing that you yourselves are beginning to view many things differently. And we look at ourselves more critically. During the march I took a fresh look at myself, at us Americans."

...Listening to Marie and Ron I thought about us marchers, travellers on a road leading to a better world. We are both like and unlike those first American colonists. We are opening up "new territories" in ourselves, in our consciousness, education and culture. We are slowly and with difficulty ousting from these "territories" prejudice and mutual mistrust. We are re-discovering America. And it is discovering us. More about these discoveries in my next report. Meanwhile dawn is breaking and we are preparing to move on.

We are on the march...

Philadelphia

Photo by the author

Ramaswamy Venkataraman, President of the Republic of India, has arrived in Moscow for the closing ceremony of the Festival of India in the U.S.S.R. On the eve of the visit he granted an interview to our Delhi correspondent Sergei Irodov.

New Times. Mr President, you are one of the leaders of the country which has a world status and enjoys great prestige and influence in the international scene. What main features of India's foreign policy have contributed to such a status?

Ramaswamy Venkataraman. India has had ancient traditions of peace, non-violence and universal brotherhood. In accordance with its heritage India has spared no efforts to foster the spirit of friendship and amity amongst the nations. The foreign policy of India rests on five principles enshrined in Panch Shila. Non-alignment is the main doctrine of its foreign policy based as it is on the primacy of peace and peaceful coexistence and focussing world attention on the material and spiritual development of man and society.

India has stood for decolonization and anti-imperialism. It has raised its voice against oppression and deprivation of basic freedoms, whether in Palestine or southern Africa, and will continue to do so.

India has stood for universal and complete disarmament, first of all nuclear disarmament, as the nuclear arms present the gravest threat ever to the very survival of humanity, the Earth and the space around it. It has advocated a more equitable international economic order and a peaceful solution of all disputes – global, regional or bilateral.

Therefore India extends its hand of friendship to all nations of the world – East and West, North and South. We are especially proud of the strong ties of friendship and cooperation that have been forged between India and the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place.

N.T. At the recent special U.N. General Assembly session on disarmament Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi put forward a new important initiative in this field. What is the significance of this initiative in the light of the efforts made by the world community with the aim of speeding up the disarmament process?

R.V. An essential feature of the action plan on disarmament advanced by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi is the binding commitment required from all countries to eliminate nuclear weapons completely in three stages over the next 22 years. The process of nuclear disarmament cannot be confined to the superpowers alone.

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A unique blend of stability and dynamism

The other nuclear powers must also join in the process. This should be reinforced by a commensurate commitment of the states capable of crossing the nuclear threshold. It is necessary to end the overt and covert support of the countries seeking to acquire nuclear weapons.

N.T. The Indo-Soviet relations have been successfully developing over many years. How would you comment on this example of cooperation between countries with differing social and economic systems?

R.V. The Indo-Soviet relations have matured into a unique blend of stability and dynamism, resilience and mutual empathy. Our two countries attach great importance to non-interference in internal affairs and peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social and economic systems. They play a leading role in the efforts for peace and international cooperation. It is on these principles that Indo-Soviet friendship has blossomed and contributed to peace and stability not only in Asia but throughout the world.

Thanks to the sagacity of the leaders of the two countries and the healthy tradition of high-level contacts beginning with Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union over 30 years ago, our two countries have stabilized their relations at the highest level and have extended them to the working level and people-to-people contacts. The warmth, depth and range of our bilateral relations are truly unparalleled. We especially recall the historic visit of General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev in 1986 during which the Delhi declaration on a nuclear weapon free and non-violent world was signed.

N.T. What are the prospects of ties between our countries?

R.V. I am very optimistic about the future of mutually advantageous relations between our countries. India has greatly benefited from Soviet cooperation in the development of its infrastructure. It has been strengthened further with the signing of a long-term

programme for cooperation in the field of science and technology.

Great changes are now taking place



Ramaswamy Venkataraman was elected President of India in July 1987. He was born in the Rajamadam village, Tamilnad on December 4, 1910. He is an economist and lawyer by education and an honorary doctor of a number of Indian universities. Venkataraman took an active part in the national liberation struggle against British colonial domination. In 1942 he was imprisoned by British authorities for two years.

After independence Venkataraman held leading posts in the Tamilnad organization of the Indian National Congress and was a member of Congress governments in that state. He also worked in the planning commission of India. Following the parliamentary victory of the INC (I) in 1980, he became a member of the central government, serving as minister of finance in 1980-82 and minister of defence in 1982-84. From August 1984 till his election as President, Venkataraman was Vice-President.

This year Ramaswamy Venkataraman celebrates the golden wedding to his wife Janaki. They have brought up three daughters.

in the Soviet Union. I am sure that they will lead to progress in the Soviet economy and provide opportunities for broader economic cooperation between India and the Soviet Union.

We should work together for international peace and cooperation based on a peaceful solution of international problems and move towards the objectives laid down in the Delhi declaration.

N.T. Mr President, you will take part in the closing ceremony of the Festival of India in the U.S.S.R. I was present at the opening ceremony in Moscow last year and can testify that the Soviet people show great interest in India and its people. How would you comment on the results of the festival?

R.V. I shall participate with great pleasure in the closing ceremony of the festival. It is, like the Festival of the U.S.S.R. in India, a unique manifestation of friendship. We were aware of the impact these festivals will have on the peoples of our countries. However, the results have exceeded our expectations, and we are naturally gratified. I believe that contacts between our peoples will be further strengthened and our countries will make the best of the opportunities that have arisen in the fields of arts and humanity, and economic and scientific cooperation. As far as I know, cultural centres are planned, and the exchanges of scholars, students and teachers in art, music, dance and drama will be intensified.

N.T. What are you expecting from your visit to the Soviet Union?

R.V. I am looking forward to the forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union. In the past 20 years I have been there several times, but this will be my first visit as President of the Republic of India. My meetings with Soviet leaders will enable me to exchange views on matters of common interest. I also want to get a clearer idea of the revolutionary changes taking place in the Soviet Union under the slogan of perestroika. We wish the Soviet leadership and the friendly Soviet people every success in their noble endeavours.



The difficult search for compromise

Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovsky comments on the results of the U.N. third special session on disarmament which recently ended in New York.

New Times. You have taken part in all three special sessions on disarmament. What is characteristic of the session that has just been concluded and in what respect does it differ from the two previous ones?

Vladimir Petrovsky. First of all, it confined its discussion exclusively to disarmament issues and, second, it took place at a time when, thanks to the Soviet-American INF treaty, disarmament is becoming a real and feasible process. Furthermore, it coincided with the Gorbachev-Reagan meeting in Moscow, the effect of which is keenly felt here.

The third session differs from the two previous ones in its many concrete ideas and proposals allowing mankind to advance steadily to real disarmament. It was a civilized discussion, without sharp exchanges for the sake of winning points. The delegations sought to find new approaches and, very importantly, to coordinate their positions.

About 50 documents containing practical initiatives were put before the third session – more than at either previous session. The socialist countries submitted 16 documents, as many as the non-aligned nations. The same number of documents was presented by the Western states. All the ideas and proposals expressed in them offer, I believe, not only a plenty of food for thought, but also possibilities for real steps by the world community.

N.T. It was, nevertheless, the second special session that failed to adopt a common, agreed document.

V.P. According to the procedure, such a document should be adopted by general consensus, and many delegations wanted and intended to reach one. For instance, the final sitting ended at half

past eight in the morning. But the differences proved too serious, and the document could not be finalized.

N.T. Could you elaborate?

V.P. The point is that debates in the United Nations are no longer an end in themselves. They are beginning to rise to the level of real policy and the adoption of specific documents. What is needed for this purpose is a reappraisal of many tenets, and the abandonment of stereotypes and old political concepts, of everything that has been engendered by power politics. It is now necessary to find a common language and show the will to concerted action.

Unfortunately, this was not shown by everyone. The American delegation adopted a very tough stand on three issues: the restriction of naval activity and naval armaments, the prevention of an arms race in outer space, and disarmament and development, whereas a large number of delegations insisted that these issues should be considered. Some of the Western delegations tried to revise the final document approved by the first special session and minimize the importance of efforts towards averting nuclear war and bringing about nuclear disarmament. At the same time, they rightly raised the question of conventional armaments.

A sound programme was brought forward by the non-aligned nations who, at their meeting in Havana shortly before the session, had adopted an appeal highlighting the need to avert nuclear war, promote nuclear disarmament, and prevent an arms race in outer space. The socialist countries formulated their common platform in the document entitled "Security through Disarmament."

It was extremely difficult to reduce the positions of the three groups of countries to a single common denominator. But it should be noted that all the socialist, twelve West European and non-aligned states displayed a readiness to look for agreed decisions. A number of mutually acceptable statements emphasizing the importance of disarmament and development and of preventing an arms

race in outer space were elaborated, and attempts were made to include the question of military expenditure in a programme of action.

When it became clear that a consensus was within reach, the United States proved unprepared to accept it and began to insist on deleting the question of nuclear-free and peace zones from the documents. The stand taken by the American delegation – either you agree to our demands or we shall not take part – is, of course, unacceptable when decisions are adopted by a consensus.

I would also like to note that the position of the socialist countries at the session was characterized by new political thinking. They sought to find points of contact and acted as a force linking and uniting the U.N. members.

N.T. Disappointment was voiced over the failure to work out a common document.

V.P. I shall not conceal that we are also disappointed to some extent. Given the political will of the United States, a document could have been worked out. On the other hand, it would be wrong to be despondent. Though the session did not produce a document, the work on it was a kind of laboratory for new political thinking in the United Nations; the first experience in the search for a compromise. Rich experience of interaction and cooperation was gained at the session. Strange as it may sound, thanks to the work done and the search for appropriate methods, the United Nations is again becoming what it should originally have been, namely, a forum for coordinating the actions of states and finding points of contact. This can only be achieved by the efforts of all parties, and each of them should meet the others halfway. The common interest of U.N. members in the issues discussed can be established if they are guided by common sense and political responsibility. The work done at the session clearly showed that such interest exists.

In our country, too, innovation is often hindered by old, conservative forces. It can be said that new political thinking has encountered the same resistance on

the international scene. If sober conclusions are drawn and the experience gained at the third session is applied in the future, then, I am sure, it will be possible to reorganize the activity of the United Nations.

N.T. It often happens that the United Nations adopts good, interesting documents, but they are not implemented, because they are not binding on member states.

V.P. Indeed, there are a great many resolutions – substantive and purposeful – gathering dust in U.N. archives. Many of them have not been implemented because they are not mandatory. Only Security Council resolutions are binding on member states.



read instead of guns!

the other decisions are merely recommendations.

Many people wonder how to bring these documents to public knowledge and make them instruments of real policy. There could be several ways of doing that. The most general way is a responsible attitude on the part of all the member states to documents adopted by the United Nations.

The Soviet Union has already drawn this conclusion for itself. We have made a critical analysis of our policy, openly stating that it has not always been conducted in keeping with U.N. provisions. We also believe that the moral imperative of resolutions expressing the will of the world community is considerable.

I would like to dwell once more on a new method of adopting decisions in the United Nations, consensus. It is not mandatory either. But a consensus decision has considerably more force than an ordinary recommendation, be-

cause the consent of all member states is involved. I think consensus should now be applied more frequently. At the same time, consensus decisions should have greater mandatory force than decisions passed by a majority vote.

N.T. Do you think it possible or necessary to enhance the standards of the United Nations and its agencies?

V.P. The Soviet Union wants the United Nations to be the main regulator of the incipient system of comprehensive security. This question is being widely discussed in our country. Some believe that the United Nations should be a

actively discussed at the session.

N.T. What is meant by "machinery of control"?

V.P. This means a system of measures to verify the implementation of arms limitation and disarmament agreements. For instance, the Delhi six nations offer their services and experts to carry out observation functions of various kinds. The International Atomic Energy Agency has also acquired some experience in this respect.

We believe that the resolution of the Afghan problem has opened up prospects for the settlement of other regional conflicts. The U.N. machinery will also be required for this purpose. About 60 U.N. inspectors are currently in Afghanistan. Inspectors are likely to be needed in the settlement of other conflicts and crises, and therefore the United Nations should have appropriate experts and equipment ready in advance. These matters should be tackled by a special international authority.

N.T. How is new thinking taking root in the United Nations?

V.P. New thinking was produced by intellectuals here and in the West. The Soviet Union was the first country to introduce this concept, formulated by outstanding scholars and cultural workers, to public life. We are advancing progressive ideas enriched by our foreign policy practice. I think that, on the whole, new thinking is being accepted by U.N. member states. At the previous session of the General Assembly the resolution on comprehensive security, expressing the quintessence of new political thinking, was adopted by the vast majority of states. At the third session, too, the final joint document was drawn up in the spirit of new thinking, reflecting as it did many of its ideas and approaches. It seems to me that new thinking is becoming a material force in the United Nations. But, I repeat, it will be very difficult to jettison dogmas, stereotypes, and convenient confrontation schemes. It should be stressed that in the activity of international organizations cooperation is a much more difficult thing than confrontation. Considerably greater efforts are needed for cooperation, whereas confrontation is a primitive method of interstate relations, a method that has no prospects.

Interviewer: **Evgeny Andrianov**
our own correspondent

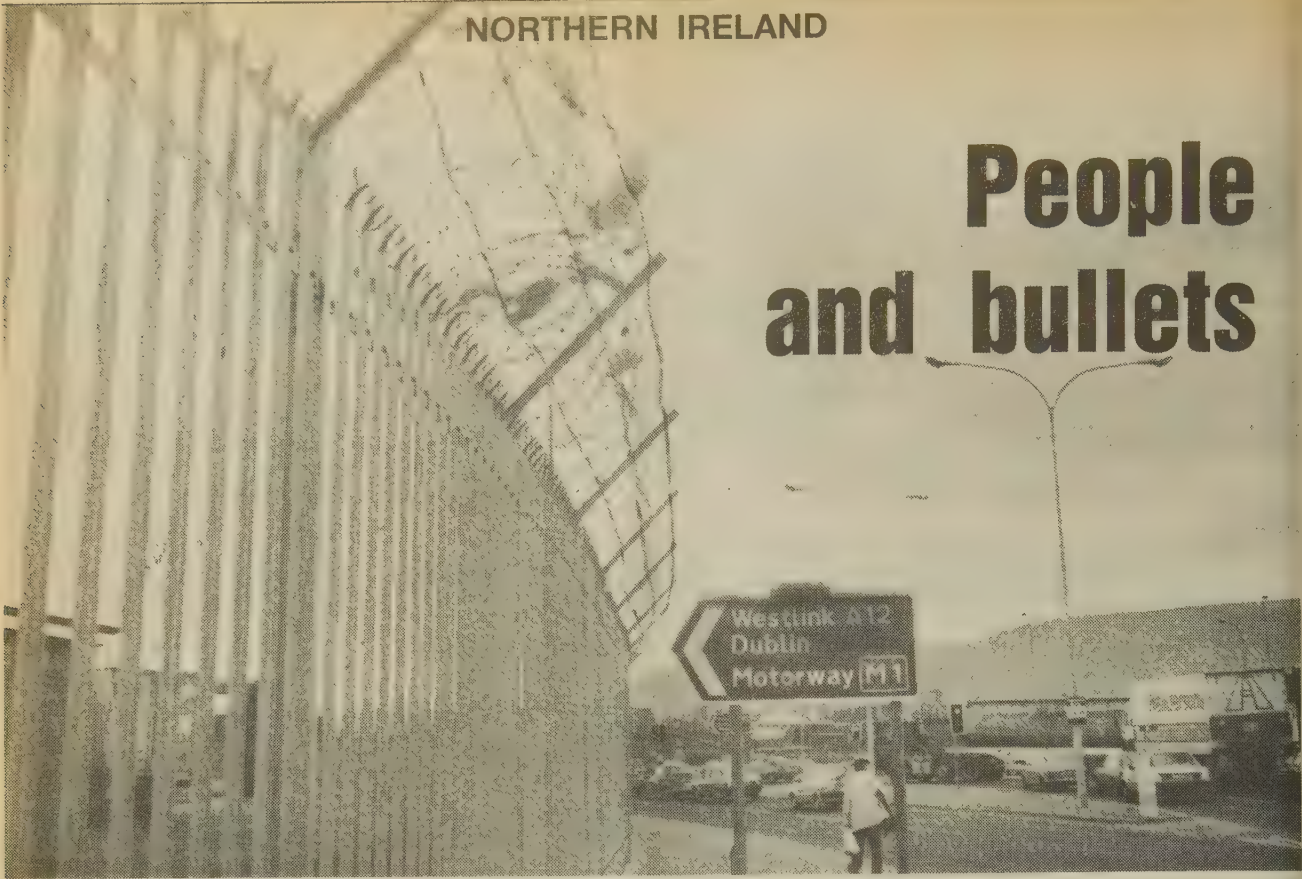
New York

From the magazine Europeo (Italy)
kind of world government. Others say it should remain a general assembly of states. Both are wrong, in my opinion, because traditional yardsticks are hard to apply. The United Nations is a qualitatively new organization. It provides for the coordinated action of all states and has an appropriate structure. That is why we are now advancing a whole programme of actions to enhance the role of the United Nations as a democratically organized centre for the community of states.

The role of the U.N. bodies in ensuring comprehensive security is to be increased all along the line. When necessary, new bodies – a world space organization, for instance – should be formed. The United Nations should have international machinery for controlling the implementation not only of arms limitation and disarmament agreements but also of agreements on the settlement of conflicts and crises. Incidentally, this question was

NORTHERN IRELAND

People and bullets



What breeds violence in Northern Ireland

What is it that the Protestants and Catholics can't decide between themselves: which church to attend?

That was a question that was put to me repeatedly when I returned to Moscow from Ulster. One could, of course, attribute it to the existence of many more topical problems lying closer to the heart, and to the fragmentary reports on that part of the United Kingdom that appear in the media (though, if one wanted to, one could find books shedding light on the problem). But the fact is that in England itself (not Northern Ireland) I had occasion to hear similar distressed questions. There were variations. Some condemned the "IRA terrorists," others accused "the arrogant Loyalists," yet others equated all groups... "a plague on both your houses..."

From time to time stormy discussions would flare up on TV and in the press in Britain, as if at a signal. The signal would usually be another explosion or shooting. But it is very rarely that the roots of the problem are touched on. Yet the dragon's teeth were sown no less than 8 centuries ago. It was in those distant

times veiled by the screen of history that the Anglo-Norman regular devastating raids on Ireland began. The conquerors appropriated the land from which they had ousted the local population. Gradually Ireland was turned into the first English colony. Castles and military posts went up all over the country, while the local people were persecuted and excessively heavy levies were imposed on them. A sort of apartheid policy was pursued: under threat of confiscation of their lands and imprisonment, the colonizers were forbidden to mix with the local population, contract marriages with them, speak their language or adopt their customs.

Gendarmes... in pleasant abundance

The division between the conquerors and conquered was reinforced after the Reformation in the 16th century, when the Church of England became the established religion, as the native population of Ireland were Catholics. This made their situation even worse, aggravating the discrimination. They were deprived of the

right to vote or carry arms, and they were not allowed to dance their dances or sing their songs. Unlike a Protestant family, a Catholic family could keep only one horse and use the labour of no more than two workers...

On the Irish whetstone London honed its trustworthy colonial weapon – the principle of "divide and rule." The split in the population on the principles of ownership of property and legal rights, covered up by religious differences, was designed to perpetuate British domination and turn Ireland into what Engels called a market for British industrial goods and a source of raw materials and food. After travelling over the greater part of the island, Engels wrote to Marx in the spring of 1856: gendarmes, priests, lawyers, bureaucrats, landed gentry in pleasant abundance and the complete absence of any industry, so that one might find it completely incomprehensible what these parasites live on, if the poverty of the peasants did not explain all... By systematic oppression they (the Irish – V.Z.) have been turned into a completely impoverished nation, which specializes in supplying England, America, Australia, etc., with prostitutes, day labourers, pimps, criminals, con men, beggars and other down-and-out vagrants.

The history of probably every country contains pages or even chapters written in blood. But for practically the entire an-

For the previous instalments see our issues Nos. 16 and 21.

nals of a people for the past eight centuries to be written in red...! The Irish time and again rose against their enslavers. Time and again these flare-ups of desperation, reinforced by their eternal love of freedom, ended in tragedy for the rebels. But after a while people would again lift their heads proudly and take up arms: "They drew their main strength from the foreign garrison imposed on them to subdue them," Engels wrote in 1870.

London and its regents in Ireland were fully aware of the danger of the population uniting regardless of their religious beliefs. Thus in 1797, General Knox reported that he had taken steps to increase the hostility between the Orangemen and the United Irishmen, since the safety of the central counties in the North depended on such hostility. It should be explained that in 1791, under the influence of the ideas of the French revolution, the United Irishmen society had been set up. Its name speaks for itself of its aims – the unity of the Irish people, equality of Catholics and Protestants. The Orangemen, followers of William of Orange, who had imposed Protestantism in Ireland, assumed the mission of protecting the imposed system. Their organizations acted together with the various "Loyalist" groups that united those who wanted to remain loyal to London...

Pound of flesh

At the end of the 19th and begining of the 20th centuries, socialist ideas began to spread in Ireland, and the movement for national independence gained momentum. Its participants sought home rule for their country. London replied by trying to play the Unionist card (the Unionists advocate Union with Britain). They were particularly active in Ulster, in the north-east of one of the four historic provinces

of Ireland. The Unionists had their own 100-thousand-strong paramilitary formation – the Ulster volunteer corps. At the other end of the spectrum was the Sinn Fein, the party seeking an independent republic, as well as a secret organization – the Irish Republican Brotherhood and its military formation, the Irish volunteers, subsequently transformed into the IRA – the Irish Republican Army. The people's struggle against British domination gathered momentum. There was a major insurrection in 1916 – the famous rebellion which began in Dublin and was harshly suppressed by British troops. Then evidently London politicians began to realize that they would have to pay too high a price to keep their first colony. In 1921 Ireland was declared a Free State with dominion status, and 28 years later the Republic of Ireland was proclaimed.

But colonialist London would have not been true to itself if it had not sought to retain its pound of flesh. Six of the nine counties forming the province of Ulster in the north-east remained part of the United Kingdom. That pound of flesh was not chosen at random, but was carefully carved out in such a way as to ensure that the number of Protestants was twice that of Catholics. Any "democratic" vote would confirm that Northern Ireland wanted to remain British.

Why did Britain need these six counties so badly? Political, great power motives naturally played an important role. But



Headquarters of the Unionist Party.

economic considerations were not last on the list, since these counties were the most economically developed in the island; and not so much as a result of favourable natural conditions, but because of their geographical proximity to the metropolis and the British authorities' protectionist measures favouring the local bourgeoisie and landowners.

The self-interest of the London "surgeons" caused Ulster's open wound to bleed even more profusely.

The Diplock conveyer

The present crisis began at the end of the sixties. The movement for civil rights was particularly strong in Northern Ireland. Demonstrations turned into riots, protest meetings into clashes with the police. The Unionist authorities responded with repressions. They were unable to stop the movement and so in 1969 the British Government sent its troops across the Irish Sea. While its main aim was to suppress the democratic movement, London was able to use as a pretext for its strong military presence the terrorist actions of the extremists – members of the so-called provisional IRA, which had broken away from the main IRA in 1970 and relied exclusively on the use of violence, as well as extremists from the Protestant Ulster Defence Association and other loyalist organizations.

The next stage in the escalation of the British presence was the introduction in 1972 of direct rule from Westminster to replace the totally discredited Stormont controlled by the Unionists. From that moment on, London, in effect, raised the terror against the people of the six counties to a new level. First rubber bullets, then the more effective plastic bullets, armoured cars on the streets and virtually unlimited possibilities for arresting those



"It's got all the hallmarks of an IRA bombing... We can't think of anyone else."

From New Statesman (Britain)

who refused to submit became the ordinary practice of British troops and their helpers from the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC). All that comes within the scope of the Special Powers Act adopted at the beginning of the seventies.

I spoke to two young women, Joanne Devine and Julie Knight, about one of the outcomes of that repressive Act, the so-called Diplock courts. The two women are key figures in a solicitors' firm that provides legal aid to victims of court and political repressions. Among their clients were quite a number who had come into direct contact with the Diplock conveyor.

At the beginning of the seventies Lord Diplock, whose name is now infamous in Northern Ireland, chaired a commission drafting recommendations for the examination in the courts of cases in the province involving violence and the use of arms. The commission, whose proposals were approved by the British Parliament, recommended hearing cases without a jury, abandoning the presumption of innocence and handing over all prerogatives to a single judge for whom just the defendant's admission of his guilt could be enough to pass sentence. Moreover, according to the commission's recommendations, sentence could be passed without hearing evidence from the defendant or witnesses, simply on the basis of anonymous police evidence or that of a paid informer. Any person who aroused suspicion could be legally arrested, and arbitrary searches were permitted.

I asked about the British soldier Jan Thain, whose name had lately figured often in the press. Joanne Devine and Julie Knight told me the whole story, which shed additional light on the Diplock brand of justice.

Private Thain was accused of murder: during the unrest in West Belfast in 1983 he had cold-bloodedly shot the manager of a music group. In December 1984, after his evidence had been found to have been deliberately falsified, he was sentenced to life imprisonment by a local court. Thain became the first British soldier to be found guilty of murder in Northern Ireland. Had justice triumphed? Had a precedent been set to cool the hotheads in army uniform? Nothing like it. A precedent had been set, but an entirely different one.

In the autumn of 1986 his case was examined by the review committee at Liverpool prison, which passed it on to the parole board. Then the case went further – to the director general of the Army manning and recruitment and the Armed Forces Minister who, after conferring, came to the conclusion that the pri-

vate's behavior did not merit his discharge from the army. At the beginning of 1987 the parole board heeded this unanimous view and gave Thain permission to return to his regiment and complete his 6-year period of army service. The Defence Ministry announced that Thain had the makings of a good soldier. The Ministry did not reveal where he would continue his service, but newsmen sought to make good this omission. Last February the whole story became public knowledge and only served to add fuel to the fire of the present upsurge of unrest in Ulster. The public was shown that British lawmakers have a double standard, depending on which side of the Ulster barricade the defendant stands on.

Joanne Devine confirmed this when she said: "If the law is violated on the streets of Belfast by a British soldier it is one thing, and it is a completely different thing if it is broken by a member of the Provisional IRA or a loyalist. Only recently we had to work on the case of a person from whom confessions had been obtained at the police station by unheard-of methods – going as far as hanging him from the ceiling on hooks passed through his nostrils."

The RUC is inclined to use such methods primarily in the case of Catholics, since more than 90 per cent of the Constabulary is made up of Protestants.

An unnecessary confession from Mrs Lynass

Yet they have already burnt their fin-

gers once. The so-called officers of law and order have already been called to order by the world public. Irrefutable proof of beatings and torture in prisons, army barracks and camps were submitted to the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, and despite the desperate attempts of British representatives to get the cases quashed, they came up before the Court. In 1977 the Court ruled the British authorities guilty of "inhuman treatment degrading to human dignity" of prisoners in Ulster, in other words of violations of the European Convention on Human Rights.

But this lesson has no effect. The desire forcibly to break the opposition of civil rights fighters has brought to the notice of the public fresh cases of inhuman, barbaric treatment. One of the latest examples was a case much talked about when I was in Belfast, a case that brought the name of Joyce Lynass into the news.

At the end of last year she decided to give evidence in the court of appeal considering the case of six Northern Irishmen who had been accused of organizing a series of explosions in Birmingham in 1975 and been sentenced to prison terms. Weighty new evidence and public pressure that openly questioned the justice of the charges against the six had compelled the authorities to reopen the case. At the first trial Lynass, who in the mid-seventies had been a police cadet, was asked whether she had witnessed any ill-treatment of the Birmingham six by the police. She replied firmly: "No." But her conscience troubled her. And now



A bus stopped at one of the many checkpoints is a routine occurrence in Belfast.

she reappeared in court, "nervous but determined," according to eyewitnesses.

Lynass said that on the morning following the arrest of the six, she was at the Queens Road police station. Opening the door of one of the rooms where interrogation was under way, she saw a fellow policeman kicking one of the detainees in the groin and shouting: "That's what we do to fucking murderous bastards..." Her fresh evidence led her to being accused of giving false evidence and at the same time confirmed the allegations of the Birmingham six that such beatings had taken place at the Queens Road police station.

So what happened? Were the prisoners from whom confessions had been extracted by torture immediately released? Not at all. So what if the witness had repeated almost word for word what the defendants had said? Why should she be believed? What's more, one shouldn't believe other new witnesses like former constable Tom Clarke, former sergeant Garrington, constables Paul Berry and Brian Sharp. They said that the arrested men had been held at gunpoint; that they had been left naked and traces of beatings could be clearly seen, that one of the Birmingham six had been left to the mercy of an Alsatian in his cell. The Judge concluded that one of these witnesses had an unreliable memory, while another was untrustworthy... The conclusion arrived at was that the police had behaved impeccably, and the confessions about the explosions had been made voluntarily. After all, special tests had been carried out and they showed irrefutably that the arrested six had handled explosives, specifically nitroglycerine...

At this point a new stumbling block appeared. It turned out that the expert from the Home Office, Dr Frank Skuse, who had carried out the tests, used methods whereby traces on the hands could have appeared from the handling of absolutely innocent objects, such as cigarettes, playing cards and the like. Incidentally, all six are smokers, and they had been playing cards on the train. And although in the course of the trial it was officially stated that the tests were not designed specifically to detect traces of nitroglycerine, and the incompetence of Dr Skuse had been

demonstrated, the judges were guided by other things. The six from Northern Ireland had been going to leave England for Ireland shortly after the explosions? They sympathized with the cause of the Republicans? They had come to England for the funeral of an IRA member? They had confessed to the crimes? Surely that was more than enough...

The money goes elsewhere

One day I was walking with my constant companion Billy Bittles along an endless road in the Catholic ghetto of Ardoyne. Broken windows in houses, poorly dressed people. A gloomy picture. We saw an elderly woman pulling a bag on wheels coming in our direction. "It's not often you meet old people here," remarked Billy. "Many begin to have heart trouble when they're still quite young. They say one reason is the food which they can afford to buy for the little money they have - many exist on benefits... And of course the life itself..." Billy pointed to the houses. He himself at the age of 20 is jobless, one of the official 22 per cent of the population of Belfast with nowhere to work. It's true that there are other estimates. They say that in the Catholic districts of the city the unemployment figure rises to an incredible 86 per cent.

I saw such people when Billy suggested taking refuge in a pub from a sudden downpour. The hum of conversation stopped when we appeared. People turned to stare at me warily: a new person, what does he want here? Billy said something to one, then to another and the hum of conversation was resumed. Strong young lads spend day after day in the pub. There is no place for them in the factories and at the shipyards. Most industrial enterprises are owned by Protestants, and Catholics are the last to be taken on, though the first to be fired. According to official statistics, the biggest employer in Belfast, Harland and Wolf shipyards, have only five per cent Catholics on their payroll; the rest are Protestants...

Many people, despairing of finding jobs, leave the city and even the province. In the seventies, a quarter of

Belfast's population of 400,000 left. Incidentally, this emigration destroys any hopes that one day the number of Catholics in Ulster will exceed that of Protestants. Catholic families are bigger than Protestant ones because the Vatican prohibits any form of birth control. And so some people still hoped it would eventually be possible to resolve the problem of the unification of Ireland through the ballot box. But the intolerable economic conditions not only led to large-scale Catholic emigration, but also compelled many families to violate the Papal ban. Doom your children to hunger and poverty? Surely that is not a Christian thing to do.

"Because of that kind of life," Billy once said, "people start to drink. Women in Catholic families do not work as a rule, even those who would like to. Some of them even take to the bottle," he added. "As for valium and other tranquillizers, the demand for them is increasing daily: people want to give their nerves a rest for at least an hour or two. But they still have to return to the same life, he concluded philosophically. Hopelessness bred by unemployment... Can anything be changed?

Probably by creating new jobs. But what industrialist in his right mind would start setting up a new enterprise in a Catholic district, invest money in an anger-torn land? Of course the British government could do a lot. Surely it could launch a number of social programmes. Housing construction, for one. Among the population of West Belfast there are many people familiar with the building trade. But the Tory government is in no hurry to put through such projects. Moreover, in the spring there were mass protests in Northern Ireland against cuts in government allocations for the National Health Service. Yet hospitals and other medical institutions could offer jobs to at least some of those who have nothing to do, feel unwanted and subconsciously develop an inferiority complex or boil with anger.

But London has no funds for such things. Clearly, maintaining a British military contingent in Ulster costs too much.

Vladimir Zhitomirsky

our special correspondent

BELFAST - MOSCOW

Photos by author

The advantages, problems and prospects

Mongolia's Deputy Premier and Chairman of State Planning Commission Puntsagiyn Jasray discusses the importance and prospects of production cooperation with other socialist countries.

New Times. Comrade Jasray, as chairman and, earlier, deputy chairman of Mongolia's State Planning Commission, you were directly involved in the establishment of many joint ventures. The joint Soviet-Mongolian ore-concentrating mill Erdenet has already marked its 15th anniversary. Mongolia's other joint ore-dressing mills also have a considerable record of operation. Why was the ore-mining industry so attractive both to Mongolia and its partners?

Puntsagiyn Jasray. I would like to stress that Mongolia's economic development, at least till the end of this century, will rest, so to speak, on two main pillars. One of them is traditional livestock breeding and the relevant processing complex, and the other is ore-mining. The explored and estimated reserves of copper, molybdenum, tungsten, lead, tin, zinc, gold, silver, coal and other minerals allow us boldly to hope for accelerated growth in the mining industry.

It is not easy, however, to find the keys to the riches of the earth. The building of mines and dressing mills, and raising the industrial and social infrastructure requires substantial investment. Mongolia is unable to tackle such a formidable task by itself.

The establishment of joint ventures, the pooling of material resources and the technological and intellectual potential of socialist countries, has helped solve the problem. A modern ore-mining industry has been set up in our country. Last year, for instance, the Soviet-Mon-

golian ore-mining enterprises alone accounted for about 19 per cent of industrial output and 40 per cent of export. In the current five-year-plan period this sphere of cooperation continues to grow.

Building up capacities and exploiting newly discovered deposits will enable us to increase the output of, say, fluorite by 80 per cent by 1990, as compared with 1980. Mongolia will take a leading place in the world for the export of this raw material. Thanks to cooperation with Czechoslovakia and Hungary, the mining of tungsten and tin concentrates will expand. With the participation of other socialist countries and taking their interests into account, we also plan to build facilities for the complete processing of mineral and raw material resources. For it is much more profitable to export finished products – metal, chemical agents and reagents – than raw materials.

N.T. You have cited interesting data concerning Mongolia's economic growth. But joint ventures mean more than economic growth.

P.J. Indeed, they help improve the entire complex of production relations, raise efficiency, and expand the social infrastructure. There is also another important aspect. In the course of cooperation we are adopting the valuable technical experience accumulated by our partners over many decades of industrial development. For instance, the joint Mongolian-Soviet ventures have become a genuine training school for national personnel for the economy. Soviet experts and workers have helped thousands of young Mongolians master many complex technical trades and modern production techniques. Mongolians now constitute about 65 per cent of the personnel at the Soviet-Mongolian enterprises. In the next few years we want to increase substantially the proportion of Mongolian engineers and technicians employed in the economy. Frat-

ernal socialist countries assist us in this respect too.

N.T. Young Mongolians are studying in colleges in Moscow, Berlin, Budapest, Prague and Sofia.

P.J. College study is only the first stage in the training of a real specialist. The second, no less important, stage is work with experienced colleagues, participation in the tackling of specific production tasks – both day-to-day and, most importantly, long-term.

The devising and carrying out, jointly with Soviet experts, of a comprehensive programme for the introduction of scientific and technical achievements is also extremely important for the progress of the industry concerned and for the training of national personnel. Also interesting is experimental and research work conducted with the aid of Czechoslovak experts in studying the technology of extracting tungsten concentrates from poor ores, and joint development work in many other fields. The research connected with an improvement in planning and management and with the introduction of a new economic mechanism has an important place in our work.

N.T. Mongolian newspapers have recently criticized the wrong approach to the use of the experience and knowledge of foreign experts.

P.J. There is, unfortunately, the old habit of relying completely on experts from other socialist countries. This practice has deep roots. When Mongolia embarked on the socialist path, it had no modern industry or personnel capable of running factories and mines on their own. In these circumstances we accepted with gratitude the possibility of relying on Soviet experience, and the experience and knowledge of experts from other countries. Today the situation has changed. Skilled and professional manpower has appeared in Mongolia in the course of building socialism. Every fifth person employed in the national economy is now a college graduate. Many have received education in other socialist countries. However, some of our executives have got accustomed to relying on others. They are afraid to take independent decisions and assume responsibility, and are willing to invite foreign experts not to learn from their experience, but in the hope that the experts will carry out their functions instead of them.

N.T. You have mentioned the introduction of a new economic mechanism at joint ventures. Could you elaborate on this?

P.J. This year most of our industrial plants have switched to a new method of planning and management. We are systematically replacing a predominantly administrative with an economic method of management. The powers of enterprises are being considerably increased, as is the scope of their responsibility. For instance, only some of the main technical and economic indices and standards are now set for joint ventures from above.

Measures have been planned to help the joint ventures make fuller use of their own funds and potential in the tackling of production, economic and social tasks. The possibility of setting up a hard currency fund is being discussed, with joint ventures being granted the right to sell a proportion of their products on the markets of third countries.

N.T. How are these decisions being carried out?

P.J. Political decisions were taken by the intergovernment Mongolian-Soviet commission for economic, scientific and technical cooperation at its meeting in Ulaan Bator last October, when important agreements were signed on the basic principles of the establishment and activity of joint ventures and the procedure for exercising direct production, scientific and technical ties. The concept of development of Mongolian-Soviet economic ties for a period till 2005,

adopted in Moscow a few days ago, will also help to increase the efficiency of cooperation between the two countries. So there are no problems at the highest level. As for joint ventures, they still have quite a few difficulties.

N.T. What are these difficulties?

P.J. Joint ventures should unquestionably be highly effective for both sides. Their output should bring in profits and the quality of products should measure up to international standards. In some cases, however, the output of one or other product brings low profits to a joint venture or becomes simply unprofitable.

N.T. What is the reason?

P.J. There are many reasons for such a state of affairs, but I shall mention only the main one, namely, the discrepancy between existing prices of construction and import equipment and the prices of finished articles. This discrepancy militates against the establishment and expansion of joint ventures. The procedure for settling accounts has not been finalized. In the past, this discrepancy was mitigated with the help of subsidies. Today the situation is different.

N.T. How to set prices?

P.J. The setting of prices for the products of joint ventures and for material and technical resources, including the construction of projects, should reflect real economic conditions. A joint venture

is an integral part of the economies of the countries concerned. This is particularly felt in the country where a joint venture has been established and operates.

In view of this, the above-mentioned Mongolian-Soviet agreement on the basic principles for the establishment and operation of joint ventures defines the procedure of price setting. Domestic wholesale and foreign trade prices for the products of joint ventures will be fixed at the same level, with due regard for full production costs and the profitability standard coordinated by the parties involved. The principle and methods of price formation applied in the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance will be taken into account.

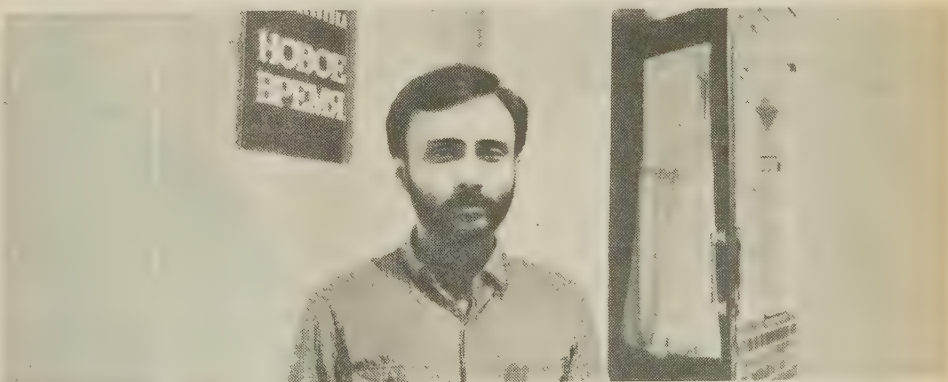
N.T. These methods have recently been criticized. Don't you think that they are too rigid and static?

P.J. The methods of price formation and the entire mechanism of the CMEA are products of the time when they appeared. This is evident from the role the CMEA has played in the development of our republic. The old standards no longer fully meet the requirements of the present time. The CMEA also needs to be readjusted. The same is true of bilateral and multilateral economic ties, scientific and technical cooperation and coproduction. The process of readjustment has already been started.

NT News

One day in mid-1987 when anti-war demonstrations were sweeping the planet, Calcutta student Himadri Majumdar and several like-minded members of the Soviet Book Readers' Club, organized under the auspices of the Vostok Book Shop, decided that it was time to act and began to promote New Times material about the Soviet Union's policy of peace among their fellow citizens. The New Times Readers' Circle thus came into being in Calcutta. Originally it comprised only a few enthusiasts, but by now attendance has grown immeasurably. School teachers, university professors, journalists, students and others attend seminars to discuss various political issues.

The winner of our international contest



Not only the members of the Circle, but also representatives of the public and intelligentsia take part.

We got this information from Mr Himadri Majumdar, winner of the first prize in the international New Times competition arranged to mark the

70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, when he visited our offices. He told us that the first prize – a visit to Moscow and Riga – had come as a fire gift that had enabled him to learn far more about the Soviet Union than all the books he had read about

the country.

We must admit that we were delighted not only to see the prize-winner in person, but also to learn that our Indian readership is growing.

Photo by K. Isakov

Time to outlaw torture

The Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment entered into force last year. However, comparatively few countries have so far evinced a desire to sign and ratify it.

Torture as a means of extracting the truth and obtaining evidence has been legalized in a small number of countries. For not many in our time would venture to defend the use of this shameful, disgraceful method. Why, then, is it that many countries – even those not classed as dictatorships – are in no hurry to undertake the commitments worked out by the United Nations Human Rights Commission and recorded in the Convention?

Is it not because in certain situations many are ready to countenance the use of torture as necessary and justified for the sake of objectives seen as more important than the well-being of an individual? All the more so considering the kind of individual in question? A criminal, a scoundrel undeserving not only of leniency but of life itself! Ought he to be treated with consideration? Does not the benefit of the many, the need to protect good people from bad dictate a specific attitude to the criminal? If it is known that somewhere in the city, in the cellar of a kindergarten perhaps, a time bomb has been planted, is it right to refrain from using every means of loosening the terrorist's tongue?

This moral alternative is but one example of situations in which the age-old dogma, "the end justifies the means," condemned and rejected by the tragic

experience of the 20th century, is revived and materialized.

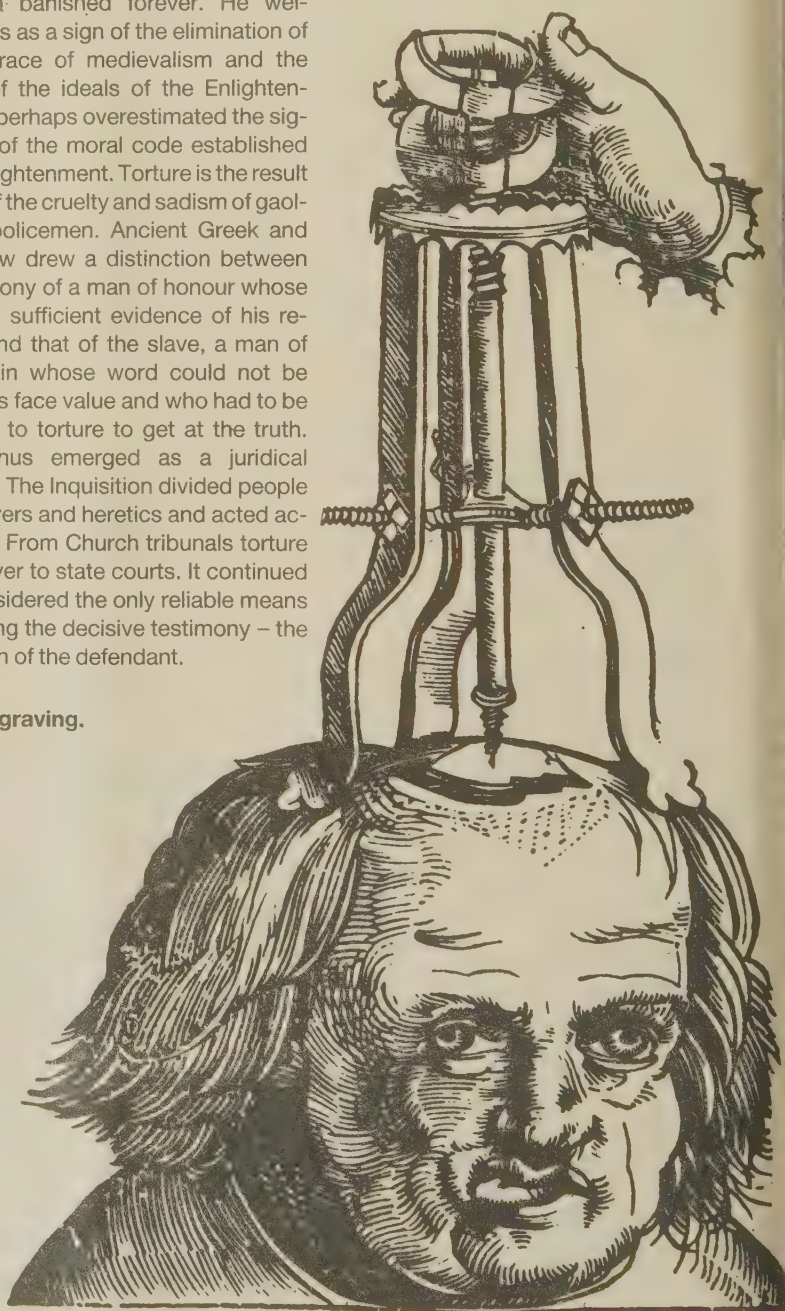
"Conclusive Proof"

Victor Hugo was convinced that torture had been banished forever. He welcomed this as a sign of the elimination of the last trace of medievalism and the triumph of the ideals of the Enlightenment. He perhaps overestimated the significance of the moral code established by the Enlightenment. Torture is the result not only of the cruelty and sadism of gaolers and policemen. Ancient Greek and Roman law drew a distinction between the testimony of a man of honour whose word was sufficient evidence of his rectitude, and that of the slave, a man of lowly origin whose word could not be taken at its face value and who had to be subjected to torture to get at the truth. Torture thus emerged as a juridical necessity. The Inquisition divided people into believers and heretics and acted accordingly. From Church tribunals torture passed over to state courts. It continued to be considered the only reliable means of obtaining the decisive testimony – the confession of the defendant.

An old engraving.

Some lawyers attribute the non-use of torture in the countries of northern Europe and in Britain (except in cases involving plots against the royal family) to the introduction of trial by jury, the principle of contest between the prosecution and the defence. Here confession of guilt by the defendant is not decisive. The development of jurisprudence and the penal system in the epoch of Enlightenment made it possible for the 19th century to consign torture to the limbo of the past.

Social progress made itself felt also in the police apparatus whose power came



be in inverse proportion to the use of torture. The developed European countries which had advanced law-enforcement systems were able to rule out torture and brutal treatment of prisoners. Weak and backward countries continued to rely on such methods.

With the criminal police relegated to the background, the special services which took over responsibility for state security came to the fore. Totalitarian regimes empowered them to supplant the courts in cases of "dangerous criminals" whose confessions again acquired the weight of conclusive evidence. Such "evidence" was regarded as sufficient grounds for conviction. This principle has its proponents to this day. One of its outstanding advocates was onetime U.S.S.R. Chief Prosecutor Andrei Vyshinsky, author of the Stalin Prize-winning book "The Theory of Legal Evidence in Soviet Law." In the 1930s he did not hesitate to support his most preposterous charges with any semblance of weighty evidence. The Prosecutor's Office saw nothing unlawful in using every conceivable means to extract the needed evidence from the defendant.

The paranoia on the soil of "protection of state secrets," and combating spies and foreign enemies resulted in the most inhuman treatment of the "captured enemy" and gave carte blanche to the investigators who felt that they had the moral right to torment and humiliate

people in the name of something far more valuable than human life.

It would be an illusion to think that this nightmare is a thing of the past everywhere. The records of the United Nations Human Rights Commission show that torture is still flourishing and not only where it has come to be seen as in the order of things – Guatemala, El Salvador, Chile or South Africa. In Spain Basques suspected of belonging to the ETA are tortured. In Ulster, members of the IRA. In the United States, gaolers beat up (sometimes to death) unruly prisoners. In Turkey, torture by electric shock is used. The same method is employed in South Korea to deal with the more active opposition on the eve of the summer Olympics. In South Africa, young Africans are crippled by the application of electrodes to the most sensitive parts of their anatomy.

"The dance" and the "tea party"

Torture is the reaction of the authorities to the failure of legal methods of law-enforcement. Few governments are confident of their powers of persuasion as regards their fellow citizens, others more often resort to water cannons to disperse demonstrations, to the secret police and the torture chambers.

Hijacking of airplanes, bomb explo-

sions and kidnappings evoke in the mass mind an overpowering desire for revenge which justifies the harshest treatment of terrorists.

And unfortunately human society has no shortage of executioners; and by no means all of them are pathological sadists. A good many of the advocates of torture are simply devoid of all feeling for suffering of others – a common affliction through the ages. We are more prone to note the difference between ourselves and others than what we have in common. The lies and fantasies of propaganda can make of any distinction – race, religious or class – a gulf across which the cries of the victims will not carry.

The torturer may shrink from physical pain and avoid going to the dentist, but he is insensitive to the pain of another because he does not consider the victim his equal. Moreover, torture deprives the victim of all human semblance, thus evoking the torturer's revulsion and strengthening his conviction that he is dealing with a being of a lower order. Torture begets torturers.

Besides, who talks about torture? In Argentina they call it "the dance," in the Greece of the "black colonels" it was called "the tea party." When a man in Chile is strung up by his feet this is termed "parrot on a perch," when the victim's head is submerged in water this is known as "the submarine," and electric shock torture – "the grill." The professional euphemisms have an anaesthetizing effect.

There are also "torturers per force," those who merely carry out orders. In general, the dividing line between the "third degree," a method, which, judging by the daily papers, is widely practised, and actual torture is very easily crossed. Especially when the higher-ups demand immediate results from the interrogator. It is then that the criterion of "the lesser evil" operates. And the choice is usually not in the suspect's favour.

In such cases the interrogator does not follow the dictates of his conscience in taking moral decisions, believing that he is shifting the responsibility onto someone else's shoulders.

What alternative is there?

Torture sometimes does produce results. After all, there is a limit to what the human organism can endure when subjected to highly sophisticated torture techniques. Experience shows that not everyone is capable of bearing physical suffering to a point where the tormentors have to acknowledge defeat. But if tor-

INTERVIEWING A PROSECUTOR

The first meeting of a committee of ten experts who will monitor the fulfilment of the convention against torture was held recently in Geneva. One of the 10 experts is Yuri Khitrin, member of the collegium of the U.S.S.R. Prosecutor's Office.

Below he answers questions put by your correspondent.

"How did you reply to questions about torture in the Soviet Union?"

"If we speak of the recent period, instances of impermissible methods of conducting investigation and brutal treatment of detainees have occurred in Ministry of Internal Affairs agencies."

"How could that happen?"

"In direct violation of the law, militia and investigative personnel have detained and arrested people without sufficient grounds. This was done by incompetent personnel, poorly versed in legal matters, who had to obtain the detainees' admission of guilt at all costs in order to justify their actions. This was possible owing to inadequate supervision by the Prosecutor's Office and the absence of defence lawyers at the early stages of the investigation. Every such instance was thoroughly examined. The offenders were removed from their posts and criminal proceedings instituted against them. In Byelorussia an investigation is under way in the case of former members of our personnel who are being prosecuted for violations of the law."

"But abuses of this kind are not always brought to light, are they?"

"True, and that is why the main task is to prevent abuses."

"What is the situation at present?"

"The Prosecutor General has just issued an order calling for the strictest observance of legality in making preventive arrests and in the extension of the period of detention during the preliminary investigation. The purpose of the order is gradually to exclude the practice of detention by the militia (with the exception of cases specified by law); to take suspects into custody only when absolutely necessary. I assume that the revision of the criminal code now pending and the possibility of the broader use of the services of legal counsel will have a beneficial effect on the entire situation."

ture yields results does that mean it is useful to society?

Many lawyers agree that the use of torture has a disastrous effect on the legal system.

In the first place torture is often applied to people who have nothing to do with the given offence and hence have no useful information to give; they simply "confess" to crimes they did not commit, with the result that the real culprits go scot-free and the competence of the investigators steadily declines.

Secondly, a regime that resorts to torture on a broad scale loses the cooperation of honest citizens who will consider it shameful to participate in such evil practices.

Thirdly, efforts to break down the resistance of the suspect by brute force has latterly come up against the belief of the victim that his agony will win him immortality. This applies in large measure to Islamic fanatics and Japanese terrorists.

Fourthly, torture aimed at ending terrorism actually plays into the hands of the terrorists. For terrorism has a stake in provoking the use of torture, in ending the rule of law and equating the law with terrorism.

And, lastly, the inviolability of the person would seem to be a feeble argument in a context of brute force. But ignoring this principle leads to the destruction of sovereign individuality and the process of the moral degradation of society sets in.

"Unless we accept total moral relativism by maintaining that 'the end justifies the means,' we must have the courage to admit that even the most just of ends is no justification for all the means that seem to be effective in achieving that end," says Christian Mellon of the Paris Centre for Social Research and Action.

What has to be done?

Ratify the Convention against torture. Introduce in national legislation laws providing for heavy penalties for involvement in torture, in brutal, inhuman or humiliating treatment of people. Ensure that the suspect has the benefit of legal advice from the moment of his detention.

And, above all, thought must be given to the inviolability of the person; to human rights not in the abstract but in concrete terms. The rights even of someone suspected – and perhaps justly – of a most serious crime. The gaolers too must reflect on these things. Naive?

To paraphrase the American writer Saul Bellow, this is not the golden age; but is there nothing left for us to do but complain?

LEONID MLECHIN

Geneva – Moscow

Destination: Mars satellite

At the beginning of July two Soviet probes will take off from the Baikonur cosmodrome in the direction of Phobos, one of the two satellites of Mars

Specialists from 12 countries and the European Space Agency contributed to providing the instruments for this unique expedition. Why did the scientists' attention and choice fall on this somewhat inconspicuous satellite of Mars when they had a whole myriad of frozen and torrid worlds dispersed throughout the heavens to choose from?

The usefulness of family quarrels

Mars, our neighbour in the Solar system, which travels along the fourth orbit from the Sun, has attracted the attention of man from time immemorial. Not for nothing was the red planet named after one of the mightiest Roman gods. Astrologers in the Middle Ages believed that Mars favours all who spill blood (soldiers and doctors, executioners and cooks). Moreover, since it reigns over iron, it favours gunsmiths, blacksmiths and jewellers.

That may seem amusing today, when people smile at such naive views. But it should not be forgotten that astrologists calculated the orbits and periods of rotation of the planets in the Solar system with surprising accuracy, providing a mighty impetus for astronomy.

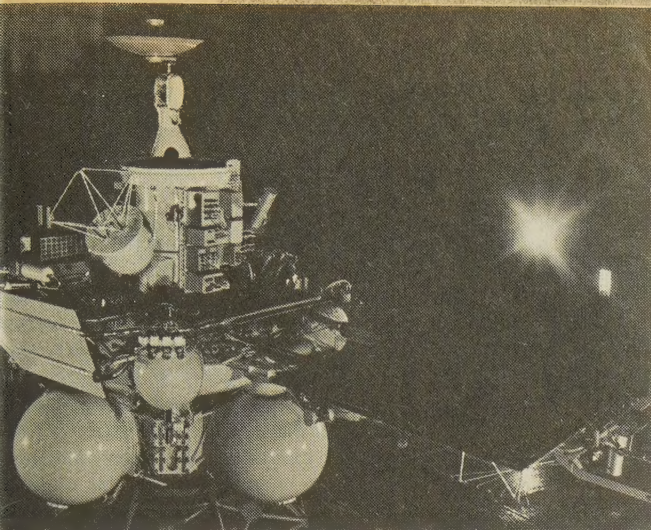
After the great Italian scholar Galileo Galilei built the first telescope in the 17th century, a new page was opened in the study of the stars. Johannes Kepler established three laws governing the movement of planets, and in his letters to Galilei he expressed an idea that Mars

has two moons or satellites. One story that has come down to us is that Jonathan Swift learned of this hypothesis, and that that is why in his famous "Gulliver's Travels," published in 1726, he describes Laputan astronomers who discovered two satellites of Mars. Voltaire later repeated this story in his *Micromegas* published in 1752 – his characters also found that Mars has two moons.

It was only a century and a half later that these brilliant hypotheses were confirmed by the American astronomer Asaph Hall, a fact that to this day serves as a weighty argument in favour of science fiction. Hall made his discovery one night when having quarrelled bitterly with his wife he locked himself up in desperation in the observatory. Since there could be no question of returning to the family hearth, Hall stayed there examining the night sky... It was the first and perhaps the last time in the history of science that a family quarrel had proved so productive.

With the development of astronomical and astrophysical instruments, scientists' knowledge of the two satellites named Phobos (from the Greek "fear") and Deimos (terror) increased very greatly. Both satellites are small: Phobos is 20 kilometres in diameter and Deimos only half that. Their shape is irregular and unlike anything we know. Their movement is also strange, unlike that of the satellites of other planets. Moreover, Phobos and Deimos behave in diametrically opposite fashions. Phobos is constantly accelerating and coming closer to Mars, while Deimos is distancing itself from the planet, but imperceptibly, in millimetres. When will Phobos fall on Mars? Scientists estimate that this can only happen in another 30-70 million years from now.

A great many theories have been expounded on the past and future of the Mars satellites. About 25 years ago the well-known Soviet astrophysicist, corresponding member of the U.S.S.R.



Today such a probe is to travel to Phobos. It is quite possible that spacemen, too, will soon be able to visit this Mars satellite.

Tass photo

Academy of Sciences Iosif Shklovsky, famed for his paradoxical, but by far not boundless hypotheses, began considering the mystery of Phobos. According to his calculations, the satellite was hollow – empty inside. The scientist realized that that sounded fantastic. He believed that a naturally hollow body could not exist in space. That meant... Could it be that Phobos was the artificial creation of a highly-developed civilization unknown to us?

In 1961 Shklovsky contributed an article to Komsomolskaya Pravda headlined "Artificial satellites of Mars." His colleagues took Shklovsky's theories seriously. Vasily Yemelyanov, corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, recalled in his memoirs how in the intervals between the sittings of the Supreme Soviet, Sergei Korolev spoke dreamily of a flight to the Mars satellites, and, perhaps if it really proved hollow, it could be possible to measure its thickness... The chief designer of spaceships admitted that this problem had captured his imagination so strongly that he could find no rest. The founder of Soviet cosmonautics, a practical genius, loved to dream. Perhaps if he had not, we would not have our spacecraft today.

Engineer Los' proposal still holds

Already seven Soviet satellites of the Mars series have flown in the direction of the mysterious planet, the first back in 1962, for Korolev was never content to have ideas on paper. American spacecraft of the Mariner and Viking series also flew to Mars. Photographs were taken of the planet and its satellites, spectrophysical and chemical analyses carried out, and even landings on the surface of the planet. February 1977 was of the greatest importance in the studies of the satellites of Mars, because then the Viking-Orbiter-

I passed 70 kms from Phobos and 30 kms from Deimos.

The exotic theories were refuted, but interest in Mars and its satellites has not decreased. The most popular hypothesis was the one that Phobos and Deimos were well-preserved asteroids plucked out by Mars in the very distant past from the asteroid belt. If that is the case, then these bodies, which have undergone no geological changes since the formation of the Solar system, could shed light on the past and future of the Earth, on many of the mysteries of its bowels and atmosphere, and on the history of the formation of the Solar system.

Today's achievements in the science and technology of space make yesterday's seemingly fantastic projects a real possibility. Take for example, the recent flight of Soviet spacecraft to Halley's comet, with a look-in on Venus on the way. Now scientists have set their sights on the satellites of Mars. What are the main goals of this expedition? Mighty Protons will propel the stations into orbit around the Earth and from there they will start on their 200-day flight to Mars. The takeoff speed from Earth is more than 11,000 metres a second, and a mistake of just one metre at this end could result in the station going thousands of kilometres wide in the vicinity of Mars. For about a month unique instruments will investigate the atmosphere, ionosphere and magnetosphere of Mars.

As astronomers see it, Mars is a close neighbour, but there is still a lot we do not know about it. For instance, it is necessary to understand the mechanism of the formation of dust storms on the planet, find out whether Mars has its own magnetic field, and map out its regions of permafrost and sources of volcanic ash. Perhaps the answer will be found to a question that is important to people on Earth: why did water disappear from the planet?

But the computer, the first to be instal-

led on an automatic station, will not be concerned exclusively with Mars. We still lack accurate data on the trajectories of celestial bodies, and the computer will have to calculate everything itself. Moreover, the station's further manoeuvres have to be carried out with great precision. And this cannot be done from Earth. An example to explain why that is the case: how can one drive a car which takes ten minutes to react to a turn of the steering wheel? That is the time it takes a radiosignal to reach Mars.

After a series of complicated manoeuvres, the stations will move into the orbit along which Phobos rotates. At first they will be at a distance of dozens of kilometres from the satellite, but then they will gradually decrease this distance to 50 metres. And then comes the most important stage – long-term automatic stations will be dropped on Phobos which will start transmitting back reports direct from its surface. The countries taking part in the project have designed complex instruments that will subject Phobos to long-wave, laser and ionic radiation. Television pictures will make it possible to detect details of the surface as small as 6 sq cms.

Some of the experiments can be described as fantastic in their boldness. For instance, in the experiment Lima, a laser beam will be focussed on a point of Phobos' surface only one millimetre in diameter. A micro-explosion will take place and the ionized substance will be split, part of it being trapped in a special device on the station. Or take another experiment – Dion. A special gun on the station will bombard the surface with heavy krypton ions, which will dislodge particles that will then be registered by a highly-sensitive mass spectrometre on board the station.

Unique mobile probes that will move across the surface of Phobos in 20-metre leaps will be left on the satellite. Their purpose is to investigate the physical and mechanical properties of the surface in different places.

The expedition is expected to last 460 days. In the final days the Earth and Mars with the stations revolving around it will be at opposite sides of the Sun and this will make possible another rare experiment – to observe the centres of Solar activity on the hidden side of the Sun.

If you've read Alexei Tolstoy's novel "Aelita" you will remember its main character, the engineer Los, who invited everyone who wanted to go to join him on a flight to the planet Mars on August 18. The space industry has produced the apparatus for the Phobos project. True, the flight will be unmanned. But the apparatus is so sophisticated that the possibility of a manned flight to Mars is becoming an increasingly realistic prospect.

S. LESKOV

Here is an example of how closely intertwined in this day and age are political ideas and moral instruction. In his address to the 19th CPSU Conference Mikhail Gorbachev said, "...we have sought a deeper understanding of the interrelationship between working-class interests and those of humanity as a whole, an idea built into Marxism from the outset. This led us to the conclusion that common human values have a priority in our age. This premise is the core of the new political thinking."

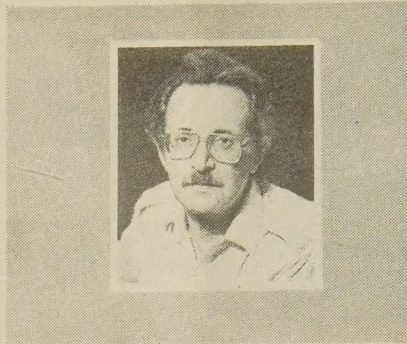
That is also the core of the new pedagogical thinking. About twenty years ago a scientist bold enough to have said something of that kind would have been censured and his career would have come to an end. Ten years ago it was acknowledged discreetly that there are universal humanitarian values in this world after all, and that there are also moral norms, but every time such an acknowledgement was made those who made it referred to Marx or Lenin to be on the safe side. I wrote once in a paper on pedagogics that the raising of children must rely above all on instilling them with a conscience. That caused a row and my paper was sent to a highly placed pedagogical authority so that he could pass judgement. The expert concerned read the paper and declared boldly: "So what? Lenin said that the Communist Party is the reason, honour and conscience of our age, and this means that there's got to be conscience."

His authority did not help, though, and the paper was passed on to an even higher authority, which ruled that everything in it was unscientific and dangerous.

Two years ago it was acknowledged for the first time that universal moral values not only exist but are also more important than any others. That rearrangement of priorities had now been acknowledged from the nation's supreme rostrum as the core of new thinking.

As I pondered that momentous change, my thoughts tended inevitably to a tragic episode of the 1930s. That episode entailed very unfortunate political and pedagogical consequences.

One of the crucial universal humanitarian values is defined by the antithesis of loyalty and betrayal. Many attempts have been made to justify or put a different interpretation on the actions of the man who betrayed Jesus Christ, but neverthe-



Loyalty or betrayal

less the kiss of Judas is censured to this day by one and all. Murderers are forgiven, but there is no forgiveness for a traitor. It is between loyalty and betrayal that the hardest choices of our lives lie. It is the inevitability of making this choice that brings the clash of the interests of various individuals and groups, the fear of punishment, pangs of conscience, firm resolve entertained by a strong personality and the indecision of a weak soul. The notion of a true friend is as much a part of our spoken language today as the image of a faithful stallion is part of our folklore.

It was to this embryo of morality that a terrible blow was dealt in a not-too-distant past. The public mind has not recovered from it to this day, as if a vital spiritual centre governing morality had been cauterized.

I mean the terrible story of Pavlik Morozov, something that is being discussed today as if it had happened yesterday and not half a century ago. The details of the court case were published quite recently and not a week had passed before the case of Pavlik Morozov was again discussed heatedly and emotionally in a TV youth show.

Three terrible things happened in quick succession then, fifty years ago.

A boy denounced his father who had issued fake certificates to save people from arrest and banishment. He should not have done that.

The family took revenge on the boy and murdered him and his younger brother. They should not have done that.

An acclaimed poet wrote a sonorous poem eulogizing the good deed of the

boy (the betrayal of his father) and condemning the killers. We would have been better off without that poem.

What devilish cunning! No one in his right mind can help being appalled at the gruesome murder of the two boys or appreciating the feeling of sympathy towards them; and under that anaesthetic of pity for the victims, the hearts of children who memorized the poem were surreptitiously immunized against conscience. The boy's betrayal of his father was declared a good deed and, taking pity on the dead boy and his brother, readers bought that idea. But what was the good deed about? The boy put class interests first and humanitarian values second. His father was a class enemy, a collaborator with the kulaks who were being wiped out as a class at the time, and consequently it was only right that he should be denounced to the authorities. Class interests above humanitarian morality...

Quite a few children inspired by the boy hero repeated his good deed, and for decades pupils in our schools were told that betraying a friend, naming the guilty one, and sneaking was their duty.

A commentator on the newspaper *Izvestia* I. Ovchinnikova was appalled when a boy sent the editorial office a letter in which he matter-of-factly inquired about the right authority to which he could denounce his father and mother, who had planted poppy in their garden. The observer also wrote about a teacher who goaded a girl in her class to betrayal. In response she got a spate of angry letters supporting the teacher. The host of a youth TV show (I. Ovchinnikova wrote about him also) demanded recently of a youth that he name the "curs" in his class on national TV...

A great deal has been turned upside down in the public mind and it may take years before the change of priorities becomes a reality. New thinking will hardly reach the minds of one and all tomorrow, but there is no other way. No political treaty or economic agreement, nor even a friendship between a small boy and a small girl is possible without loyalty that cannot be corrupted by any temptation. Isn't that something that we all understand?

Simon Soloveichik

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